STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGAR COINS

K. GANESH

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PREFACE

The Vijayananagar coins have always attracted the attention of the numismatists and scholars. The Vijayanagara coinage has been studied by various scholars and notable among them are the works of Hultzch, Desikachari, M.H. Krishna, Ramesan, N. Sankaranarayana, A.V. Narasimhamurthy, K. Ganesh and Girijapathy and Michael Mitchiner. Subsequent to the publication of the last major work on the subject by K. Ganesh and Girijapathy, some coins were reported in various journals. My subsequent publication titled *Karnataka Coins* included the coinage already published in my earlier work and the coins that were later reported in various journals. However on reexamining the attributions made earlier, I have found that the coins earlier attributed to some of the Aravidu rulers were not correct and several coin types attributable to Venkatadri and Tirumalaraya were assigned to Venkata II and Venkata III. Some of the coin types earlier attributed to Tirumalaraya and Srirangaraya III also needed reexamination.

The earlier works including my work on the subject was mostly concerned on describing the coins of the Vijayanagar rulers. While this was definitely useful to the numismatists, other important aspects of the coinage were ignored. The Vijayanagar inscriptions and the account of foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar during different time periods provide important information which was not studied in detail in the earlier works. Attempt was also not made to correlate the observations from inscriptions and account of travellers with the coins that are attributed to the Vijayanagar rulers. A study of the metrology of the Vijayanagar coins was also not attempted. While study of the mints that existed during Vijayanagar rule was attempted partially, correlating the existing coinage with possible mints was not attempted in earlier studies. Other aspects that were ignored are the study of the relation between the seals and coinage, the relation between coinage and inscriptions and iconographic study of the coins. The feudatories and nayakas played an important role in Vijayanagar administration. An integrated study of their coinage along with the coinage of Vijayanagar rulers was also not attempted in the earlier works. These are some of the reasons for bringing out this publication. Some of the important contribution of the present work includes:

1. A detailed analysis of the coin terms found in inscriptions (chapter 2).
2. Study of the account of travellers on Vijayanagar coinage (chapter 3).
3. Arriving at the metrology of Vijayanagar coins (chapter 4). The weight standards are arrived at after detailed analysis of several coins. The standards are different from the one arrived at earlier by me. The proposed weight standard correlates with the observations made by the travellers who visited the Vijayanagar at various points in time. Comparison is also made between the weight standards of Vijayanagar and those of the Bahmanis and the Adil Shahis.

4. A detailed type wise study of the coinage of various rulers (chapter 5).
5. A detailed study of the coinage of Ramaraya, Tirumala and Venkatadri (chapter 6). One of the important finding from this research work is the numismatic evidence provided on the role of these three brothers during the last few years before Talikota war. The present study clearly establishes that Venkatadri was ruling during the last few years, occasionally sharing power with his brother Tirumala. Also a coin of Venkatadri countermarked by the Deccan Sultanates is discussed.
6. Compilation of all the published material and categorizing them into coins definitely attributable to Vijayanagar rulers (chapter 7), coins with doubtful attribution (chapter 8) and coins not assignable to Vijayanagar rulers (chapter 9).
7. A detailed study of the Viraraya pana that were in circulation from the period of Hoysalas (chapter 10).
8. A study of the seals used on the copper plate grants of Vijayanagar rulers and comparison of the devices used on the seals with those used in the coins (chapter 11).
9. An iconographic study of Vijayanagar coinage (chapter 12).
10. A detailed study of the coinage of the feudatories of Vijayanagar (chapter 13) and the Nayakas of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee (chapter 14). This study also includes identification of the mints that existed during the Vijayanagar period.
11. A chronological listing of the coinage of Vijayanagar and the feudatories (chapter 15).
12. A study of the influence of Vijayanagar coinage on contemporary rulers and the rulers who succeeded them (chapter 16).
13. Identifying possible relation that exists between the number of inscriptions issued by a ruler and his coinage (chapter 17).
14. A detailed bibliography of Vijayanagar coins (chapter 18).

The text is written without diacritical mark. However the legend on the coins as well as key coin terms found in the inscriptions are shown with diacritical mark at Appendix A. The abbreviations used in the text are expanded at the beginning of the Bibliography chapter.

I thank my daughter Janani and my friend A. Manoharan for their help in drawing the map showing the mints. I also thank my wife Sheela, without whose support, this work and all my earlier works would not have been possible.

I earnestly hope that this book will receive the support of the numismatists and the scholars.

K. Ganesh

1

HISTORY

The middle of the fourteenth century saw a radical change in the political history of south India. At the beginning of the century, four major dynasties were ruling the sub-continent. The Sevuna empire under Ramachandradeva with its capital at Devagiri covered the whole of western India from Narmada to Tungabhadra. The Telugu empire of the Kakatiyas under Pratapa Rudra II with its capital at Warangal occupied the whole of the eastern block from Mahanadi to the Pulicat lake. The Hoysala empire under Ballala III with its capital at Dwarasamudra extended from the Tungabhadra to the southern reaches of the Kaveri. The Pandyas under Kulasekara Pandya with its capital at Madurai extended at the extreme end of south India.

Towards the middle of the fourteenth century, two mighty kingdoms emerged in south India the Bahmani kingdom of Gulbarga and the Vijayanagar empire. The Bahmani kingdom was formed by the erstwhile Sultanate of Delhi's representative who declared independence. The rulers of Vijayanagar were the Hindus of indigenous stock. Together these two kingdoms determined the destinies of south India for over two centuries.

The Vijayanagar empire came into existence in AD 1336 and was founded by two brothers Hakka and Bukka. There are differences of opinion on the origin of these founders. Some believe that they were the feudatories of the Hoysalas. However according to other sources, Hakka and Bukka were probably kinsmen and revenue officials of the Kakatiya ruler Pratapa Rudra II. When Pratapa Rudra was

overrun by the Tughluqs, the two shifted to Anegondi and entered into the services of local chieftain. When Anegondi fell to Tughluqs, they were taken as captives to Delhi. They were released by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq and allowed to return to south as agents of Delhi. They however championed the cause of the formation of the Hindu empire. Towards this cause they had the guidance and blessings of sage Vidyaranya. The city of Vijayanagar or Vidyanagar was founded on the southern bank of Tungabhadra.

A number of travellers such as Nicolo Conti, Abdur-razak, Barbosa, Nuniz, and Paes had visited the Vijayanagar during various periods and their writings have been the major source of the Vijayanagar history. Robert Sewell has edited the writings of Paes and Nuniz in his famous work *A Forgotten Empire.*[1]

The Vijayanagar empire lasted for about three and half centuries and produced four ruling dynasties.

The First or the Sangama Dynasty

Hakka or Harihara was the first ruler with whom the history of Vijayanagar starts. He was the eldest son of Sangama. Harihara spent the first few years in stabilizing his empire. During his reign saw the collapse of Hoysala empire with Ballala III killed in a battle with the Madurai sultans. Harihara and his brother Bukka, Kampanna, Muddappa and Marappa spread themselves in all directions. Harihara extended his power to the Hoysala country and thus we find him master of Mysore by AD 1346 and the Kongu country by AD 1348. About this time he assumed the title of *Maha Mandalesvara.*

Bukka I (AD 1354-1377), who succeeded Harihara, was nominated as *Yuvaraja* as early as AD 1337. He was the ablest of Sangama's sons. In AD 1336, he had to sue peace with Muhammad Shah I of the Bahmanis. Shortly after peace, Bukka concentrated on the conquest of south. After conquering Tondaimandalam, he marched towards Madurai. In a fierce battle, the Madurai Sultan was killed thus putting to an end the rule of Madurai Sultans. He then proceeded towards Ramnad and Rameswaram thus bringing the entire south under the Vijayanagar fold. Mujahid who succeeded Muhammad Shah, tried to besiege Vijayanagar in vain and had to retreat to Adoni and finally to his territory. Soon after Bukka died and was succeeded by his son Harihara II.

Muhammad Shah II who ruled during the period of Harihara II sued peace with Vijayanagar empire and thus during his time saw no war between Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdom.

Harihara II brought back Konkan in Vijayanagar fold and led an expedition to Warangal with success. He assumed the title *Maharajadhiraja.*

After Harihara II, Virupaksha seems to have ruled for few months but Bukka II became king during AD 1405. He ruled for about a year. Bukka II was ousted from the throne by his brother Devaraya I who claimed imperial powers during 1406. Devaraya I faced humiliation at the hand of Feroz Shah of Bahmani and had to give his daughter in marriage to Feroz Shah. However in 1417, Feroz Shah declared a war on Warangal. Feroz besieged for two years the fort of Pangal, but had to retreat because of break out of contagious disease. Devaraya seized this opportunity and inflicted crushing defeat on the Sultan. According to Ferishta, treachery in the Bahmani was responsible for this reversal.

Vira Bukkaraya III, called in inscriptions as Vira Vijayaraya and Vijaya Bukkaraya succeeded Devaraya I.

Devaraya II, son of Vira Bukkaraya succeeded him to the throne. This king was also called *Proudha* or the great Devaraya by his subjects. He bore the title *gajabentekara* which literally translates to 'one who engaged himself in elephant hunt'.

Ahmad Shah, who succeeded Feroz Shah renewed the conflict with the Vijayanagar and marched with a big army and crossed Tungabhadra river. Devaraya was taken as prisoner without realizing that he was a king. Devaraya escaped and sued for peace. Devaraya then developed his cavalry and inducted Muslims in his service. It was during his reign that Nicolo Conti, the Italian Traveller and Abdur-razak, a Persian envoy visited Vijayanagar.

After Devaraya II, his son Mallikarjuna ruled during 1447-65. The distant provinces started growing weaker. The Konkan and Maratha feudatories had grown turbulent. The Saluvas started to grow in power.

Mallikarjuna appears to have been succeeded by a son of his called Ramachandra. But Virupaksha, the rival claimant overthrew him. Virupaksha proved to be incompetent and was given to luxury and vices. During his time, he lost northern Konkan and Goa to Muhammad Gawan, the prime minister of Bidar. He also lost Belgaum and some areas of northern Karnataka to Bahmani. This gloomy situation was saved by the intervention of Saluva Narasimha, a loyal officer in the state. Saluva Narasimha along with Narasa Nayaka marched by way of Ambur, Bangalore, Tumkur and Penukonda and reached Vijayanagar. Thus the Sangama dynasty gave way to the Saluva dynasty.

The Second or the Saluva Dynasty

The rise of Saluva dynasty also saw the declaration of independence by Adil Shah, the first king of Bijapur.

Saluva Narasimha died during 1493 but before his death he entrusted the administration to his general Narasa Nayaka.

Soon after Saluva Narasimha's death, differences rose about succession. Narasa Nayaka settled his choice on the elder son of Saluva Narasimha while Timma Raja, another powerful noble of the Vijayanagar, favoured the younger prince Immadi Narasimha. Timma Raja killed the eldest son with the view that the murder may fall on Narasa Nayaka with whom the administration was entrusted. Narasa Nayaka had to leave Vijayanagar as Immadi Narasimha who was crowned as king showed more affiliation to Timma Raja.

Narasa Nayaka later marched towards Vijayanagar and ordered the king to put Timma Raja to death for treason. Narasa Nayaka allowed Immadi Narasimha to continue but was vesting the real power. Later he ascended the throne, after murdering the reigning king Immadi Narasimha. Thus the Saluva dynasty lasted only for two decades and the throne passed on to the Tuluvas.

The Third or the Tuluva Dynasty

Narasa Nayaka ruled on behalf of Immadi Narasimha till 1503 and after his death his son Vira Narasimha proclaimed himself as the ruler. He ruled till 1509 and after him his brother Krishna succeeded to the throne.

Krishnadevaraya's first concern after his accession was to restore the lost prestige of the Vijayanagar empire. In 1512 he marched against Bijapur forces and easily installed his troops at Mudgal and Adoni reaching at last Raichur. Krishna then led his forces towards Golkonda's frontier. In the battle fought at Krishna, the combined strength of Shahi army was driven out. In 1513, he marched towards Udayagiri which was under Pratapa Rudra Gajapati of Orissa and captured it. In 1514 he conquered Kalyani and Gulbarga and in 1515 he took Kondavidu. In 1516, he captured Kondapalli and marched towards Kalinga. Pratapa Rudra had to sue for peace and gave his daughter in marriage to Krishna. Krishnadevaraya was perhaps the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings.

Krishnadevaraya was succeeded by his brother Achyutaraya in 1530. In AD 1530, Achyuta lost Raichur to Ismail Adil Shah and in 1536 Kondavidu fell to Quli Qutub Shah.

Achyuta was succeeded by his son Venkata Devaraya who seemed to have ruled for a short period. Sadasiva, son of Achyuta's brother Ranga, succeeded him. Three famous brothers Ramaraya, Tirumala and Venkatadri who were nobles of the Vijayanagar empire were responsible for his coronation. However the administration was in the hands of Ramaraya who was the son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya. In the battle fought at Rakkasa-Tangadigi in 1565, the combined forces of Muslim kings of Deccan overthrew Vijayanagar and Ramaraya was beheaded. Tirumala ran away to Penukonda along with Sadasiva. Later he killed Sadasiva and thus the Tuluva dynasty gave way to Aravidu dynasty. According to another version Venkatadri, the brother of Ramaraya, ruled for 6 $^{1}/_{2}$ years and later Tirumala ruled for 7 $^{1}/_{2}$ months.[2] Some coins of Venkatadri are reported in the present work which indicates that Venkatadri seems to have had some control over northern Karnataka.

The Fourth or the Aravidu Dynasty

Tirumala was one of the son-in-laws of Krishnadevaraya and a minister during the reign of Sadasiva. In 1551, he rebelled against his elder brother Ramaraya and assumed imperial titles. Later he seemed to have patched up with his brother.

He nominated his eldest son Sriranga as the heir apparent and placed him at Penukonda in charge of Telugu area. The second son Rama was stationed at Srirangapattana in charge of Kannada areas. The third son Venkata was stationed at Chandragiri in charge of Tamil country.

Srirangaraya I succeeded Tirumala in AD 1572. Sriranga had to face humiliation at the hands of Ali Adil Shah and Ibrahim Qutub Shah. The Vijayanagar empire had lost major part of its northern districts.

Srirangaraya was succeeded by his brother Venkata Devaraya II, who started his rule from Penukonda and then shifted his capital to Chandragiri. He successfully drove Quli Qutub Shah. He invaded Gingee and took Krishnappa Nayaka as prisoner and released him on the interference of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore. The disintegration of the empire seems to have started during the closing period of Venkata.

Chikkaraya also known as Srirangaraya II, succeeded Venkata. However he ruled only for a short period before being assassinated by Jaggaraya.

After Chikkaraya, Ramadevaraya and Pedda Venkata ruled. The result was that authority became divided and anarchy crept. Most of the chiefs

openly defied Vijayanagar over lordship and started assuming imperial titles. The year 1633 marks the end of Ramadevaraya's reign. After 1633 Pedda Venkata appears to have ruled till 1646. This king was also addressed as Rama Raja Venkata.

The decline of the Vijayanagar had reached and after the reign of Sriranga III, the entire country passed on to the Qutub Shahis.

Chronology

Sangama Dynasty:	
Harihara I	AD 1336-1356
Bukka I	AD 1356-1377
Harihara II	AD 1377-1404
Virupaksha	AD 1404-1405
Bukka II	AD 1405-1406
Devaraya I	AD 1406-1422
Ramachandra	AD 1422
Vijayaraya I	AD 1422-1424
Devaraya II	AD 1424-1446
Vijayaraya II	AD 1446-1447
Mallikarjuna	AD 1447-1465
Virupaksha II	AD 1465-1486
Praudharaya	AD 1486
Saluva Dynasty:	
Saluva Narasimha	AD 1486-1493
Immadi Narasimha	AD 1493-1505

Tuluva Dynasty:	
Narasa Nayaka	AD 1497-1503
Vira Narasimha	AD 1503-1509
Krishnadevaraya	AD 1509-1530
Achyutadevaraya	AD 1530-1542
Venkata I	AD 1542
Sadasivaraya	AD 1542-1568
Aravidu Dynasty:	
Tirumalaraya	AD 1569-1572
Sriranga I	AD 1572-1586
Venkata II	AD 1586-1614
Sriranga II	AD 1614-1615
Ramadevaraya	AD 1615-1633
Pedda Venkata	AD 1633-1646
Sriranga III	AD 1642-1685

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2

CURRENCY SYSTEM AS OBSERVED FROM INSCRIPTIONS

An examination of the stone and copper plate inscriptions issued during the Vijayanagar empire may throw light on the coinage during this period. It is with this intention that an analysis of the stone and copper plate inscription from Karnataka and Andhra regions has been attempted and the results discussed here.

A pioneering effort was made by B.R. Gopal by way of consolidating 2289 inscriptions from Karnataka region and 1063 inscriptions from Andhra region in four publications.[1] The Karnataka inscriptions are from Bangalore, Bellary, Chikkamagalur, Chitradurga, Hassan, N. Kanara, S. Kanara, Kolar, Mandya, Mysore, Raichur, Shimoga and Tumkur districts while the Andhra inscriptions are from Anantapur and Chittoor districts. These inscriptions were selected for examination.

The frequency tables (Table 2.1 and Table 2.2) presented here is derived by counting the occurrence of the coin term in the inscription. A total of 540 instances of the coin terms have been observed. These are presented district-wise and dynasty-wise. During the counting of the term, more than one occurrence of the same term in an inscription has been taken as only one occurrence. In other words, the numbers presented in the tables, indicate the number of inscriptions in which the term occurs.

Analysis and Observations

The analysis of the frequency distribution tables presented above indicates the following:

1. Gadyna, varaha (and its variant varaham), varaha gadyana, hon (and its variants honnu, and pon) were popular coins during the period. They may

have referred to the same coin. We know that the standard gold coin of Vijayanagar weighed 52 grains (3.4 gm) and hence if there were any differences between these coins, it could only be in terms of the purity of the gold.

2. The terms gadyana and dharana are also used to represent weights.

3. The terms kati gadyana and its variant kati, kati honnu are noticed in the inscriptions from south Kanara and Chikkamagalur. These gadyana were in vogue during Sangama and Tuluva periods. These appear to have been gadyanas with inferior gold contents as is evidenced from three inscriptions. In an inscription during the period of Achyutaraya,[2] 23 varahas and 6 panas were said to be equivalent to 59 katis. This translates to 2.5 kati gadyana for every varaha (if 10 panas is equivalent to a gadyana). In an inscription during the period of Krishnaraya,[3] 60 varaha gadyanas are stated to be equivalent to 150 kati gadyanas which again translates to 2.5 kati gadyana for every varaha gadyana. This also means that the varaha gadyana and varaha were equivalent. In an inscription during the period of Krishnaraya,[4] 60 kati gadyanas are stated to be equivalent to 20 varaha gadyanas which translates to 3 kati gadyanas for each varaha gadyana. Thus the gold content of the kati gadyanas appears to have varied over time.

4. The term Achyutaraya-mada varaha-gadyana is noticed in an inscription at Bellary during the period of Sriranga I. It is possible that this was referring to the varaha issued by Achyutaraya.[5]

5. The term pratapa is seen in an inscription during the period of Sadasivaraya issued at Hampi and the term pratapa gadyana in an inscription during the period of Bukka I. It is possible that both refer to gadyana although pratapa is generally believed to represent half-varaha. Half-varahas of Bukka I are not known at this point in time.

6. The term ghatti varaha is noticed in inscriptions from Bellary, Anantapur and Chittoor. It is not clear whether this also represented varaha or it was a variant with a different gold content. Ghatti varaha literally means 'solid varaha', probably referring to coin with higher gold content. No. 198 of M.E.R. for 1922 which is a document of the Tamil country shows that 140 pon were equivalent to 100 ghatti-Venkatarayan varahan, indicating a ratio of 7:5 between the two coins. It may be noted that the coinage of East India Company contained the following copper fractions: duddu (=3 pies), ghatti-duddu (= 4 pies) and dodda-duddu (= 6 pies). The ratio of duddu to ghatti-duddu works

out to 7:5.25 which is approximately equal to the one arrived between varaha and ghatti varaha (if pon is taken as equivalent to varaha). Whether ghatti varaha was actually a coin issued from a mint or only coin of account is difficult to say.

7. The term dodda varaha (big varaha) is noticed in six inscriptions of Tuluva rulers from S. Kanara. It is not clear whether this represents a varaha or two varaha standard. Since dodda duddu is double the value of the ordinary duddu, dodda varaha may have been equivalent to two gadyana.[6]

8. An inscription during the time of Tuluva Narasimha from Basruru in south Kanara district records a gift of 60 dodda varahas for copper work (*chembina-kelasa*) from the interest of 4.5 varaha gadyanas on the hon current at Belaturu.[7] Another inscription from the same place during the time of Krishnadevaraya mentions coins like dodda varaha, kumdige varaha.[8] The relation between the various terms used is not clear from these inscriptions.

9. We start seeing the term pagoda from the period of Tuluva dynasty. Similarly the term ruka is noticed during this period. These terms are seen in inscriptions from Chittoor and Anantapur districts. These were possibly gold coins of varaha/gadyana standard. These terms were later adopted by East India Company.

10. The term rekhai, rekhai pon and rekhai varahan are noticed extensively in Tamil inscriptions from Chittoor (primarily from Tirumala) during the period of Tuluva dynasty. These are possibly Tamil version of the term ruka.

11. The term mada is seen in an inscription of Tuluva rulers from Anantapur district. This may have represented a varaha standard.

12. The terms singava gadyana, chakram pon are also noticed each in an inscription. Singa means lion, however no coin with lion device attributable to Vijayanagar rulers is known. They possibly were the local names given for gadyana and pon. The terms Yedahalli honnu, Bentula gadyana is noticed in an inscription.[9]

13. The term chika gadyana is observed in an inscription during the period of Sadasivaraya. Chika literally translates to small. The significance of small gadyana is not clear. It may have possibly referred to half varaha.[10]

14. The term kathari amkusa gadyana is mentioned in an inscription of Harihara II from Puttige.[11] This indicates a gadyana having a dagger and a goad. Coins with two fish along with dagger/goad on the obverse and the

legend *pandya danamjaya* on the reverse are known and are described later. This coin also has Kannada letter *ha* on the reverse. These coins were issues of Alupas. Thus the local coinage prevalent was allowed to be circulated with minor/no modifications.

15. Hana, pana and their Tamil variant panam were the most widely used term in the inscriptions spreading across all the dynasties. Pana was 1/10th of a gadyana as can be seen through several inscriptions. In an inscription, 2 ga and 2 pa are said to be equivalent to 22 panas.[12] Similarly in another inscription, 1 ga and 4 ha are said to be equivalent to 14 panas.[13] However an inscription at Hariharpur[14] in the Kadur district during the time of Devaraya II states that 17 gadyana and 11 pana made up to 18 ½ varaha which gives the value of about 8 pana to a varaha.

16. The term narpanam is noticed in Tamil inscriptions from Chittoor district (primarily from Tirumala). This was possibly equivalent to a panam. In an inscription during the time of Achyutaraya, 10 narpanams is said to be equivalent to 1 chakram pon which must have been equivalent to a varaha.[15]

17. The narpanam as a coin must have existed, as can be seen from one of the inscription which mentions of a grant of 150 rekhai pon and 600 narpanams. This inference is drawn because the narpanams are not converted to rekhai pons and the transaction possibly records the actual denominations that got transacted.

18. The term bele is seen in an inscription during the period of Harihara II from Beluru.[16] Similarly the term visa is seen in an inscription of Aravidu ruler Venkata II from north Kanara.[17] Visa and bele were the denominations in vogue during the period of Hoysalas.[18] It is not clear whether these coins were in circulation as late as sixteenth century. No known coins of Vijayanagar with these denominations exist.

19. Tara was the silver coin and it is only noticed in four inscriptions two during the period of Bukka I (from Hassan and South Kanara districts) and, one during the period of Devaraya II (from north Kanara district) and one during the period of Sadasivaraya (from Anantapur district) . In an inscription during the period of Bukka I,[19] details of 13 taras spent per day amounting to 55 gadyana hon for the year is given. This translates to 85 to 86 taras per gadyana (if year is taken as 360 and 365 days respectively). If 10 hana is equivalent to 1 gadyana hon, then 8.5 taras were equivalent to a hana. According to Abdur-razak who visited Vijayanagar during Devaraya II's rule, 6 taras were

Term						
	Bangalore	Bellary	Chikkamagalur	Chitradurga	Hassan	N Kanara
Gadyana		1	12	1	2	
Varaha gadyana	2	2	1	1		
Achyutaraya mada varaha gadyana		1				
Pratapa gadyana				1		
Kati gadyana			2			
Singava gadyana						
Gadya						
Gadyana hon					1	
Chika gadyana		1				
Kathari Amkusa gadyana						
Hiriya nija varaha gadyana						1
Varaha	4	3	5	1	5	2
Varaham						
Ghatti varaha		3				
Dodda varaha						
Kumdige varaha						
Varaha honnu						
Rekhai varahan						
Pagoda						
Ruka						
Kati						
Hon	3	1	7			2
Honnu			2			
Kati honnu			1			
Pon						
Rekhai pon						
Chakram pon						
Rekhai						
Mada						
Pratapa		1				
Sanna pratapa						
Pana		2	1		1	
Hana	3	1	6		2	1
Kulada hana						
Panam	3					
Narpanam						
Pratapa hana		1				
Bele					1	
Visa						1
Tara					1	1
Belliya honnu						1
Kasu		1				
Kolaga	1					
Padi		1				
Prasada padi		2				
Dharana						

Table 2.1: District-wise

Districts									
S Kanara	Kolar	Mandya	Mysore	Raichur	Shimoga	Tumkur		Anantapur	Chittoor
10	2	3	10		13				
4		1			6			1	
13									
	1								
								1	1
1									
1									
12		4	9		5	2		4	3
									5
								2	2
6									
1									
					1				
									1
								1	1
								1	1
2									
4	1	1			6				1
2	1				5				1
	1								9
									57
									3
									3
								1	
1									
	1				1			1	
3		1	1		5			1	
1									
									126
									68
1								1	
				1				2	
								1	

distribution of coin terms

equivalent to a hana, while Varthema another traveller, mentions that 16 taras were equivalent to a hana.

20. Since silver coins post Sangama period have not been noticed so far, we may take it that the inscription during the period of Sadasivaraya, mentioned above, was actually referring to the copper coins with higher weights, which were introduced as a substitute for silver coins.

21. The term belliya honnu is noticed in an inscription from N. Kanara district.[20] This literally translates to silver hons. It is possible that the term was used to refer highly debased gold varahas.

22. The term kasu is noticed in four inscriptions during Tuluva rule. It is not clear whether this term represented a copper coin.

23. It is surprising that the copper coins don't find a mention (except the one stated above) in the inscriptions. They were possibly used only for day-to-day minor transactions.

24. Other than the inscriptions analysed, terms such as ardha kati gadyana, bahira gadyana, sanna pratapa gadyana are also encountered in the inscriptions from south Kanara. Ardha kati gadyana means half kati gadyana while bahira gadyana may refer to foreign (bahira) coins i.e. coins struck outside south Kanara and brought into circulation in the region.[21]

25. Table 2.3 indicates the distribution of various coin types. It can be seen that gold coins such as gadyana, varaha and pana were in much higher usage compared to the silver and copper coins.

26. It should be noted that the above inferences are drawn based on the inscriptions from Karnataka and Andhra regions.

Summary

The large number of coin terms seen from the inscriptions is mind boggling considering the fact that the standard gold coins that are presently known weigh 3.4 gm. Its parts in half, quarter and one-tenth are also known. Given this fact, relating the various terms used in the inscriptions to the available coins become difficult.

The wide variations in the terms may be due to one or more of the following reasons.

1. The gold content in the coins varied in different regions as well as in the same region, the coin names thus indicating the gold content in the coins.

Term	Dynasty				
	Sangama	Saluva	Tuluva	Aravidu	Summary
Gadyana	16	3	5	1	25
Varaha gadyana	5		5		10
Achyutaraya mada varaha gadyana				1	1
Pratapa gadyana	1				1
Kati gadyana	12		3		15
Gadyana hon	1			1	2
Varaha	8		18	6	32
Ghatti varaha			3		3
Dodda varaha			6		6
Kumdige varaha			1		1
Kati	1				1
Hon	10	2	2		14
Honnu	2		1		3
Kati honnu			1		1
Pratapa			1		1
Sanna pratapa	1				1
Pana	2		2		4
Hana	6	1	4	3	14
Kulada hana	1				1
Panam	3				3
Pratapa hana			1		1
Bele	1				1
Visa				1	1
Tara	3				3
Kasu			1		1
Padi			1		1
Prasada padi			2		2

Table 2.2: Dynasty-wise distribution of coin terms

Coin Types	Count
Varaha, Gadyana and its variants	295
Pana and its variants	229
Bele	1
Visa	1
Tara	4
Kasu	4
Others	6

Table 2.3: Count of various denominations

2. The same coin may have been called by different names in different regions due to local terminology.

3. The local coins in circulation in the region were acceptable as a means of exchange and it was not mandatory to exchange only the coins from the Royal mint. For example the Alupa coinage (when they were subordinates to Vijayanagar empire) may have been accepted for circulation in the region of their rule and may have been called by terms such as kathari amkusa gadyana, kati gadyana etc.

References and Notes

1. B.R. Gopal, *Vijayanagara Inscriptions*, Vol. I to Vol. IV, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore. The terms KN used here in this reference, refers to the inscriptions from Karnataka (Vol. I to III) while AP refers to the inscription from Andhra (Vol. IV).
2. *ARSIE*, 1928, No. 422; *SII*, IX pt. II, No. 555; KN 953.
3. *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. 623; KN 976.
4. *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. 624; KN 977.
5. *ARIE* 1972-73, KN 366. The inscription records the sale of land for eighty four Achyutaraya-mada varaha-gadyanas.
6. R. Panchmukhi, *VSCV*, p. 114.
7. *ARSIE*, 1928, No. 410; *SII*, IX, No. 479; KN 946.
8. *ARSIE*, 1928, No. 425; *SII*, IX, No. 511; KN 948.
9. KN 2091. This is an inscription during the period of Virupaksha. It refers to 50 Yadehalli honnu 30 Bentula gadyana, these being specific amounts due.
10. *ARIE*, 1975-76, No. B 103.
11. *ARSIE*, 1901, *No.* 55, *SII*, VII, *No.* 229, *KN* 1026. The inscription during the period of Harihara II, states that the watchman was to be paid four kathari ankusa gadyana.
12. KN 1979. This is an inscription during the period of Virupaksha from Yiduvani in Shimoga district.
13. KN 1959. This is an inscription during the period of Sadasivaraya from Samagekote in Shimoga district.
14. *MAR*, 1932, No. 42, pp. 209-210.
15. AP 710.
16. *EC* V, Bl 75; KN 755. The inscription mentions dues thus: 1 bele per gadyana of income in gold, 2 bele per khanduga of grains, 2 panas per 100 gadyana upon the cost of navaratna.

17. *ARIE*, 1970-71, No. 159; *PRKRI*, 1939-40, No. 88. The inscription records grants of 443 varaha, 1 hana and 3 visa.

18. 1 pana = 4 haga; 1 haga = 5 visa; 1 visa = 2 bele.

19. *ARSIE*, 1901, No. 181; *SII*, VII, 319; KN 1089.

20. *KN* 900.

21. K.V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970, pp. 289-290.

3

VIJAYANAGAR COINAGE AS OBSERVED BY TRAVELLERS

Several travellers visited Vijayanagar during various periods. Their accounts throw light on various aspects of Vijayanagar empire such as geography, customs, administration and monetary system. Description of coins as observed by some of the travellers is discussed here.

Abdur-razak

Abdur-razak travelled to Vijayanagar during AD 1443. Devaraya II was ruling during this period. Abdur-razak states[1]:

"On the left of the palace there is the mint, where they stamp different kinds of gold coins, mixed with alloy. One is called varaha, and weighs about one miskal equal to two kopaki dinars. The second is called partab, and is equal to half of the first. The third called fanam, and is equal to tenth of a partab. The last one is the most current. Of pure silver they make a coin equal to a sixth of a fanam, which they call tar, which is also in great use. The third of a tar is a copper coin, called jital. The usage of the country is that at a stated period, everyone throughout the whole empire carries to the mint the revenue (zar) which is due from him, and whoever had the money due to him from the exchequer receives an order upon the mint. The sipahis receive their pay every four months and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces."

Based on the above observation by Abdur-razak, we can arrive at the following relationships between the coins:

varaha is the standard gold coin

partab (probably pratapa) = ½ varaha

fanam = $^{1}/_{10}$ partab = $^{1}/_{20}$ varaha

tara = $^{1}/_{6}$ fanam

jital = $^{1}/_{3}$ tara

Varthema

Ludovico di Varthema, also known as Barthema and Vertomannus (c. 1470-1517) travelled during 1505 to Vijayanagar and makes passing mention of the coinage. He observes[2]: "His money consists of pardao, as I have said. He also coins silver money called tare, and others of gold, twenty of which go to a pardao, and are called fanam. And of these small ones of silver, there go sixteen to fanam. They also have another coin called cas, sixteen of which go to a tare of silver."

The following is the relationship between the coins that is drawn based on the above account.

pardao is the same as varaha or pagoda

fanam = $^{1}/_{20}$ varaha

tare = $^{1}/_{16}$ fanam

cas = $^{1}/_{16}$ tare

On bankers and money-changers he observes thus: "The money-changers and bankers in Calicut have some weights, that is, balances which are so small that the box in which they stand and the weights together do not weigh half an ounce; and they are so true that they will turn by the hair of the head. And when they wish to test any piece of gold, they have carats of gold as we have; and they have touchstones like us. And they test after our manner. When the touchstone is full of gold, they have a ball of certain composition which resembles wax, and with this ball they wish to see whether the gold is good or poor, they press on the touchstone and take away some gold from the said touchstone, and they see in the ball the goodness of the gold and they say: "Idu mannu, Idu aga," that is "this is good, and this is poor." And when the ball is full of gold they melt it, and take out all the gold which they have tested by the limestone. The said money-changers are accurate in their business."[3] This observation clearly shows the advancement reached by the bankers and money-changers in accurately measuring the gold content and the gold weight.

Domingos Paes and Nuniz

Robert Sewell translated the works of the Portuguese travellers Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz in his classic work *A Forgotten Empire.*[4] Domingos Paes narrative was written during AD 1520-1522 while Nuniz's chronicle was written during AD 1533-1537.

Domingos Paes

On the purchasing power of coins, Paes observes:

"They give three fowls in the city for a coin worth a vintem[5] which are called favaos (fanams); outside the city they give four fowls for a vintem.[6] A pig is worth four or five fanams.[7] Grapes are sold at three bunches a fanam and pomegranates ten for a fanam."[8]

On the income of people, Paes observes:

"There is a (dance) woman in the city who is said to have hundred thousand pardaos (pagodas) [9,10] and I believe this from what I have seen. There are captains who have a (annual) revenue of a million and million and half pardaos, others a few hundred thousand pardaos, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand pardaos and each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse and elephants."[11]

While commenting on the day of coronation of the king, Paes observes:

"On the same day they give great gifts of money to the king, it is even said that they give on that day to the king in money a million and five hundred thousand gold pardaos, and each pardao is worth three hundred and sixty reis, and from this you will be able to know how many reis there will be."[12]

Paes throws light on the gold coin thus:

"And if any one does not know what a pardao is let him know that it is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck anywhere in India except in this kingdom; it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin is current all over India. Each pardao as already said is worth three hundred and sixty reis."[13]

Fernao Nuniz

During the attack on Rachol, the strategy adopted by Krishnaraya's

captains to motivate their forces is shown by this observation of Nuniz. "The Captains began to buy from the soldiers the stones which they took from the walls and towers, and they paid them according to the value of the stone; so that the stones were worth ten, twenty, thirty, forty and fifty fanams. By this they contrived to dismantle the wall in many places, and laid the city open."[14]

Commenting on the purchase of horses from Portuguese, Nuniz observes: "On the road king Crisnarao bought six hundred horses from the Portuguese at the rate of $4^{3}/_{4}$ for 1000 pardaos."[15]

The improvements on irrigation undertaken by Krishnaraya have helped revenue generation. Commenting on this Nuniz observes: "By means of this water they made many improvements in the city, and many channels by which they irrigated rice-fields and gardens, and in order that they might improve their lands he gave the people the lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years, until they made their improvements, so that the revenue already amounts to 20,000 pardaos."[16]

Commenting on the toll adopted by the king, Nuniz observes: "For through this gate all things must enter that come into the two cities, since in order to enter the city of Bisnaga there is no other road but this, all other roads meeting there. This gate is rented out for 12,000 pardaos each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the renters ask, country folk as well as strangers. In both these cities there is no provision or merchandise whatever, for all comes from outside on pack-oxen, since in this country they always use beasts for burdens."[17]

On the purchase of the horses by the king, Nuniz says: "The king every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz, and country-breds, of which he chooses the best for his own stables, and he gives the rest to his captains and gains much money from them; because after taking out the good Persian horses, he sells those which are country-bred and give five for a thousand pardaos, and they are obliged to pay him the money for them within the month of September, and with the money obtained he pays for the Arabs that he buys of the Portuguese, in such a way that the captains pay the cost of the whole without anything going out of the Treasury."[18]

Nuniz also mentions of the captains (nayakas), their kingdom, the revenues they hold and the revenues they pay to the king.[19] This is discussed in a later chapter.

Duarte Barbosa

Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese factor at Cannanore and Cochin in between 1503 and (about) 1517 and had left behind an interesting account on trade and political events of the southeast including Bengal. We have an account of what Vijayanagara was like in AD 1504-14 in the narrative of Duarte Barbosa.[20]

Speaking of the "Kingdom of Narsinga," by which name the Vijayanagar territories were always known to the Portuguese, Barbosa writes: "It is very rich, and well supplied with provisions, and is very full of cities and large townships."

Barbosa gives details of gold coins: "The gold coins which they call Pardao are minted in certain towns of this kingdom and over the whole of India they make use of this coin, which is current in all these kingdoms. The gold is rather base. The coin is round in form and is made with a die. Some of them have on one side Indian letters and on the other 'two figures'."

Summary

It is clear from the writings of the travellers that the monetary system was well established during the Vijayanagar empire and all the transactions were through money.

Most of the accounts talk only about gold coins, predominantly pagoda showing the abundance of gold coins in this kingdom. Mention is also made of fanams.

Both Abdur-razak and Varthema refer to fanam and say that it is equal to $^{1}/_{20}$ of varaha. However, through inscriptions, we come to know that fanam is equal to $^{1}/_{10}$ of varaha. If varaha is 52 grains (3.4 gm) then the fanam referred to by Abdur-razak and Varthema should have weighed 2.6 grains (0.17 gm). No coin of this standard attributable to Vijayanagar exists. It is possible that reference is being made to fanam (of the Viraraya type) which should have weighed 5.2 grains (0.34 gm) but with 50% gold content. Abdur-razak also mentions that the fanams were current, possibly implying that they were issued only during Devaraya II time. A fanam with elephant on the obverse and virarayi design on the reverse and attributed to Devaraya II is illustrated (coin 73) in the *Catalogue of Coins* chapter. Possibly, Abdur-razak was referring to this fanam.

Silver coin tara is mentioned by Abdur-razak and Varthema. However there seems to be confusion on its value. It is possible that there may have been a degeneration in the silver content (or weight) of tara over time.

The copper coin jital is mentioned by Abdur-razak and cas by Varthema. Again the relation between jital to tara and cas to tara indicated by them is different. The two were possibly referring to different denominations of copper coins.

According to Abdur-razak, payments seem to have been made on the mint offices, the mints having two departments the coining and paying branches. The accounts are made simple by giving drafts only on the Huzur treasury, no drafts were made on provincial governments.

References and Notes

1. Henry M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its Own Historians*, Vol. VI, Trubner and Co., London, 1872, p. 109.
2. Richard Carnac Temple (Ed.), *The Itinerary of Ludavico Di Vathema of Bologna*, Argonaut Press, London, 1928, pp. XXV,53.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
4. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire: Vijayanagar; A Contribution to the History of India*, The Project Gutenberg E-text, Release Date: July, 2002, Edition: 10.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 197, *Robert Sewell*: vintem is equal to $1\,^{7}/_{20}$ of penny.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 198, *Robert Sewell*: Varthema calls this gold ducat, Purchas says in his days this was worth the value of a Flemish dollar.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 120. I think Paes is referring firstly to the varahas struck by the Sangama rulers (Siva-Parvati and Lakshmi-Narayana types) which were

possibly in circulation during Krishnaraya's time. The one which he refers as issued by this king is the Durgi varaha.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.
20. Mansel Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarate Barbosa: A Descriptive of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar,* Vol. I, London, 1918, p. 156.

4

METROLOGY OF VIJAYANAGAR COINS

The emergence of Vijayanagar empire saw a new phase of coinage in south India. One of the contributions of the Vijayanagar empire was the remarkable improvement in the currency system in south India, completely changing the scarcity of coins that existed prior to its period. The richness of gold coins, the innumerable types of copper coins, the diversity of devices and the appropriateness of legends on the reverse of the coin, offer testimony to the ingenuity of the Vijayanagar rulers. It will not be an exaggeration to call the Vijayanagar period as the golden age of the south Indian numismatics.

The Vijayanagar rulers issued coins in gold, silver and copper. The silver currency was however rare. Inscriptions on stone, copper plate grants and the accounts of foreign travellers who visited the Vijayanagar empire in the contemporary period are the main sources of information on Vijayanagar coinage. These were already dealt in greater detail in earlier chapters.

Here we will attempt to correlate the observations from inscriptions and travellers' account with the coins that are currently known and published.

Gold Coins

The gadyana or varaha was the standard gold coin of the Deccan. By the time the Vijayanagar kingdom was founded, the weight of the varaha had become established at 52.4 grains (3.4 gm).

The Vijayanagar gold coins of varaha and half-varaha standards that are currently known from various hoards and publications, weigh 3.4 gm or 1.7 gm. A rare instance of dodda varaha of Krishnadevaraya which weighed 119.7 grains and which was minted in honour of Lord Venkateswara of Tirupati is

also known. However we encounter several names of gold coins that were in circulation during the Vijayanagar period which were dealt in an earlier chapter. As already stated, the wide variations in the terms may be due to one or more of the following reasons.

1. The gold content in the coins varied in different regions as well as in the same region, the coin names thus indicating the gold content in the coins.

2. The same coin may have been called by different names in different regions due to local terminology.

3. The local coins in circulation in the region were acceptable as a means of exchange and it was not mandatory to exchange only the coins from the Royal mint. For example the Alupa coinage (when they were subordinates to Vijayanagar empire) may have been accepted for circulation in the region of their rule and may have been called by terms such as kathari amkusa gadyana, kati gadyana etc.

The gold content in four Vijayanagar coins is indicated below.[1]

Type	Specific gravity	Gold content with silver as the main alloy element %	Gold content with copper as the main alloy element %
Krishnadevaraya – Durgi varaha	15.45	70.26	78.67
Krishnadevaraya – Durgi varaha	16.20	77.16	83.62
Achyutaraya – Gandabherunda type varaha	16.78	82.08	87.15
Gandikota varaha	15.84	73.93	81.30

Table 4.1: Gold content in four Vijayanagar coins

Pana, panam and its name variants were fractional coins. According to Abdur-razak and Varthema, they were equal to one-twentieth of a gadyana. However from most of the inscriptions we notice that pana was one-tenth of a gadyana. The pana weighs about 0.34 gm which is one-tenth of the weight of a gadyana. It is possible that the fineness of the gold content of pana and its name variants may have varied over time and at different places thus indicating the reason for the anomaly between most of the inscriptions and the observations made by Abdur-razak and Varthema. The pana is dealt in greater detail in a later chapter.

Silver Coins

Tara, also known as taurh, tar, tare by foreign travellers, is the only known silver coin. There is a difference of opinion on its value. According to Abdur-razak it was equal to the value of 1/6th of a pana while according to Varthema it was 1/16th of a pana.[2]

The weight of the Vijayanagar silver coins vary from about 0.06 gm to 0.300 gm. Thus it is possible that there were various denominations. It is also possible that due to paucity of silver, the weight standard as well as the silver content of tara varied over time. This could be the reason for the difference in value being recorded by Abdur-razak and Varthema.

Unlike their predecessors, the Hoysalas, the Vijayanagar rulers did not indicate the denomination in their silver coins. The only exception to this is the coin of Harihara II and Devaraya which have on the obverse the Kannada numeral 2 ½. It is not clear whether this indicated the denomination of the coin.

The distribution of weights of 71 silver tara coins is shown in Fig. 4.1.

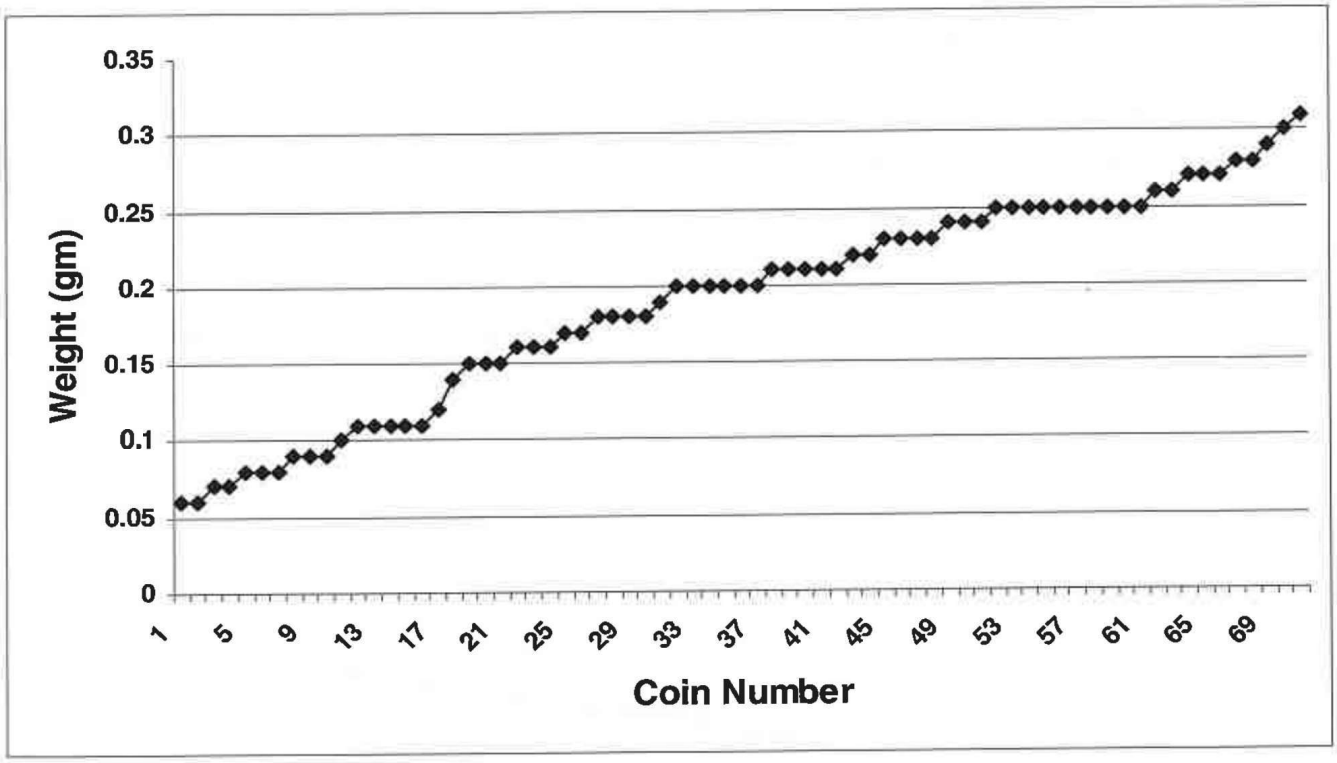


Fig. 4.1 Distribution of weight of silver tara coins

Fig. 4.1 clearly indicates that the weight standards were not uniform and the variations in weight are significant. It is difficult to arrive at the mean weight of various denominations (if they existed). However we can tentatively arrive at possible denominations which are indicated in Table 4.2.

Weight	Denomination
0.06 gm – 0.08 gm	1/4 Tara
0.09 gm – 0.11 gm	1/3 Tara
0.15 gm – 0.17 gm	1/2 Tara
0.18 gm – 0.21 gm	2/3 Tara
0.25 gm – 0.31 gm	Tara

Table 4.2: Possible denomination of tara

Coin	Silver %	Copper %	Lead %	Total %
Harihara II	91.81	3.21	4.71	99.73
Devaraya II	95.63	1.56	2.55	99.73

Table 4.3: Metallic composition of Vijayanagar taras

Dhopate made analysis of the metallic composition of silver coins and his findings are given in Table 4.3.[3] According to him, the presence of lead in the coins is the cause for their being brittle.

Copper Coins

Kasu, jital were the copper coins in circulation during the Vijayanagar period. According to Abdur-razak, three jital was equal to a tara while according to Varthema, sixteen cas was equivalent to a tara. We do not encounter the term jital in the inscriptions.

Some of the Kannada works mention the terms kani, duggani and arekani. Arekani or half kani is referred in *Basava Purana* and Bommarasa's *Soundara Puranam*. Duggani or two kani is referred in Mangarasa's *Supasastra*.[4]

Jital was the denomination used by the Sultanates of Delhi and Gulbarga and this represented a billon coin weighing about 3.6 gm.

The figures 4.2 to 4.5 present the distribution of weights of copper coins of Sangama, Tuluva and Aravidu rulers. 68 coins of Sangama rulers, 97 coins of Tuluva rulers and 23 coins of Aravidu rulers are represented in the distribution. The coins of Aravidu rulers chosen are those from the Karnataka region. All the coin types are represented in the distribution.

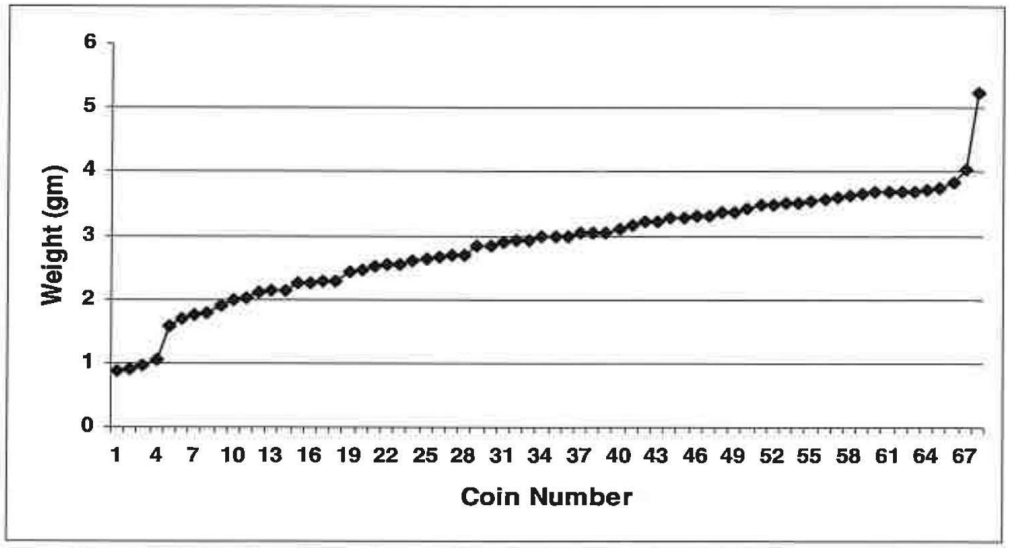


Fig. 4.2 Distribution of weight of copper coins of Sangama rulers

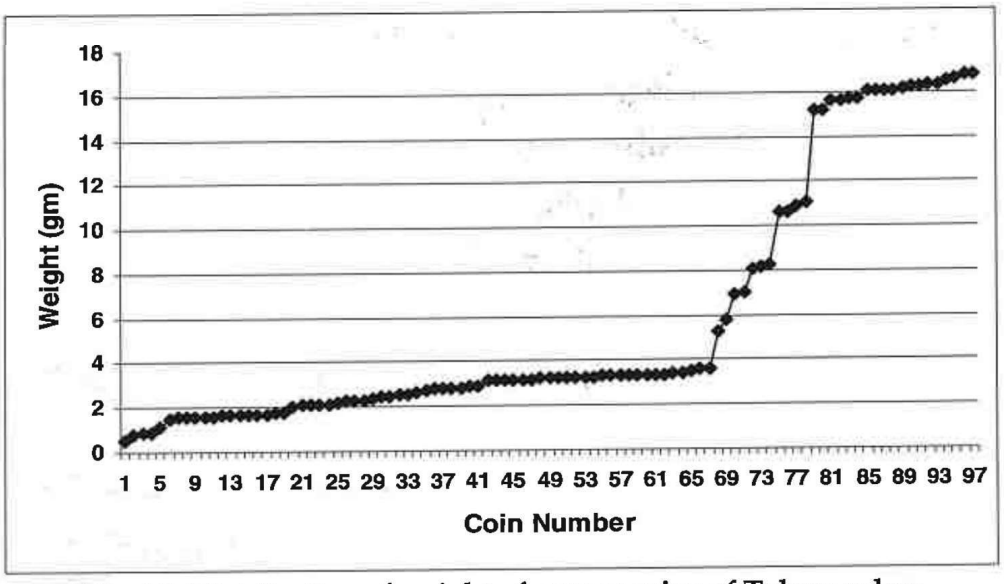


Fig. 4.3 Distribution of weight of copper coins of Tuluva rulers

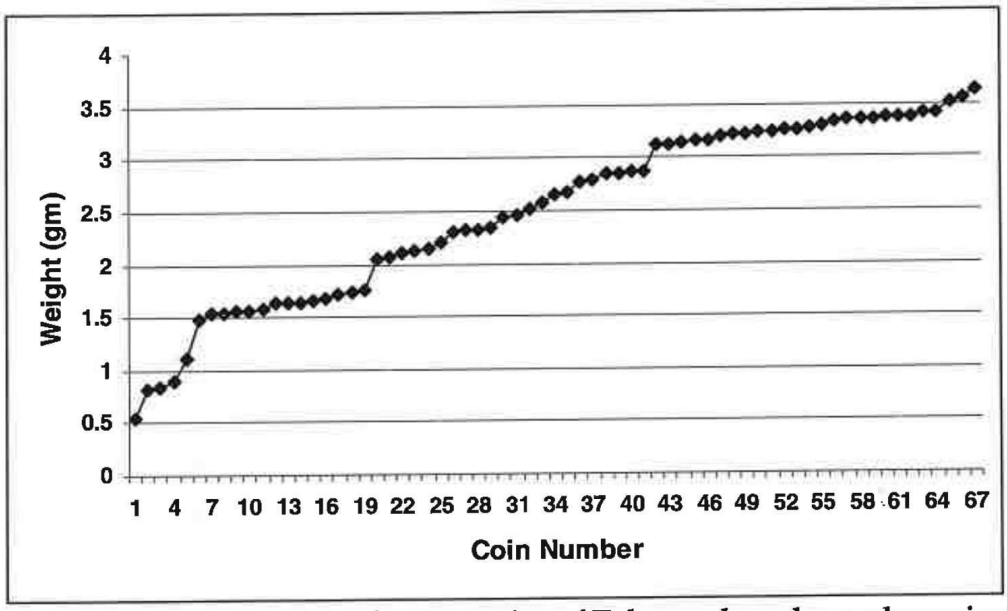


Fig. 4.4 Distribution of weight of copper coins of Tuluva rulers - lower denomination

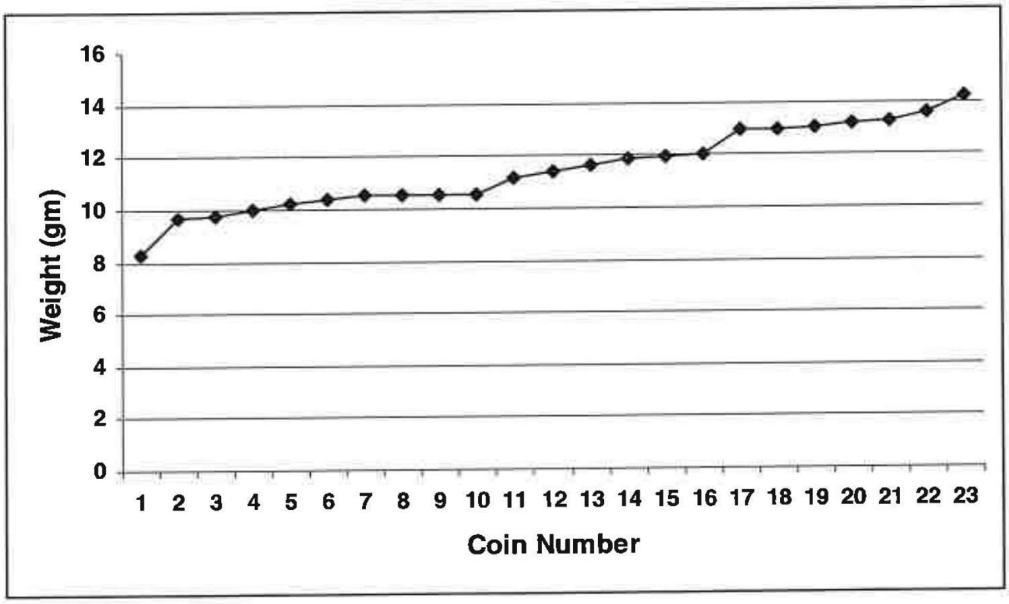


Fig. 4.5 Distribution of weight of copper coins of Aravidu rulers

Fig 4.2 indicates the distribution of weights of copper coins of Sangama rulers while Fig 4.3 shows the distribution of weights of copper coins of Tuluva rulers. In Fig 4.4 the lower denomination coins are represented to give a clear idea of the denomination that existed below 4 gm. In Fig 4.5 the distribution of coins of Aravidu rulers is indicated. From the above graphs, we can infer the following:

1. There existed various denominations as can be seen from the variations of weight from 0.5 gm to about 16.5 gm.

2. The variations in weight of the lower denomination coins with respect to the mean were high. The weight standards are discernible from 5.5 gm and above as is evident from the appearance of steps in the graph (see Fig. 4.3).

3. In general the variations in weights of the copper coins are high with respect to the mean standard for the denomination. Thus not much care was taken during the minting of these coins. The metal value of these coins was possibly much lower than their value.

4. There is only one coin of Sangama rulers which weighs about 5.5 gm. This is the copper coin of Devaraya II. This coin has on the obverse an elephant and on the reverse the Nagari legend *praudadevaraya*. This was possibly introduced as a fractional tara denomination (1/3 tara). In all possibility this coin is referred by Abdur-razak as jital. Incidentally, there are only few copper coins of Devaraya II known from Karnataka region as most of his copper coins are from Tamilnadu region. The copper coins of Devaraya I and Devaraya II in Karnataka region are limited to the bull type with Nagari legend variety and the dumpy elephant type coins with corrupt reverse legend. Thus it is more than likely that the coin under discussion was in circulation during Abdur-razak's visit.

5. It is also seen that coins of higher weights (6 gm and above) start appearing during the reign of Tuluva rulers. M.H. Krishna observes that these were possibly introduced as a substitute for the silver tara which was perhaps given up for want of supply of that metal.[5] This is further corroborated by the fact that no silver coins of Tuluva and Aravidu dynasty rulers have so far been reported.

6. The taras and the heavy weight coins appear from Hampi region (see the *Catalogue of Coins* chapter). These coins may have been issued from the Royal mint at Hampi.

From the foregoing discussions as well as from the travellers' account on Vijayanagar coinage, we can tentatively derive Table 4.4.

Weight	Denomination
0.8 gm – 1.0 gm	½ Kasu (Arekani?)
1.5 gm – 1.75 gm	Kasu (Kani?)
2.0 gm – 2.6 gm	2 Kasu
3.1 gm – 3.6 gm	3 Kasu (Dukkani?)
5.5 gm – 6.0 gm	$^1/_3$ Copper tara (Jital?)
8.0 gm – 8.5 gm	½ Copper tara
10.0 gm – 11.0 gm	$^2/_3$ Copper tara
15.5 – 16.5 gm	Copper tara

Table 4.4: Probable denominations of the copper coins - Sangama and Tuluva dynasty

From the table, we establish that tara is 16 kasu (Varthema) or 3 jital (Abdur-razak). The above table is different from the one proposed in earlier works by the author, but this appears to be more logical and is based on more detailed analysis of the coins.

Venkatadri issued coins (which were not included in the above analysis) during the period of Sadasivaraya's reign. The weight standards of his initial coinage were along the lines of the Tuluva rulers. However the weight standard of copper tara was brought down from 16 gm to 14 gm and this should have happened at around AD 1562, and subsequent issues of Venkatadri and his joint issue with his brother Tirumala followed the new standards. The weight standard was further brought down from 14 gm to 12 gm, as can be seen from Table 4.6. This should have happened towards the end of Venkata II's rule.

Weight	Denomination
10.0 gm – 10.5 gm	$^2/_3$ Copper tara
13.0 gm – 14.0 gm	Copper tara

Table 4.5: Probable denominations of the copper taras of Aravidu rulers

Weight	Denomination
7.0 gm – 8.0 gm	$^2/_3$ Copper tara
11.0 gm – 12.0 gm	Copper tara

Table 4.6: Probable denominations of the copper taras of Aravidu rulers during later periods

It is interesting to compare the copper coinage of Vijayanagar rulers of Sangama and Tuluva dynasties with the copper coinage of Bahmanis who were their contemporaries. The weights standard followed by Bahmani rulers is indicated in Table 4.7.[6] It is seen that the Bahmani coinage and Vijayanagar coinage are consistent in terms of the weight standards. It appears that the weight standards got evolved together in the region.

Weight	Denomination
2.8 gm	1/6 Gani
5.0 gm – 5.5 gm	1/3 Gani
7.0 gm – 8.0 gm	½ Gani
10.0 gm – 11.0 gm	2/3 Gani
15.0 gm – 16.0 gm	Gani

Table 4.7: Copper coinage of the Bahmanis

Weight	Denomination
1 gm	1/12 Falus
2 gm	1/6 Falus
3.5 gm – 4.3 gm	1/3 Falus
7.0 gm – 8.0 gm	2/3 Falus
11.0 gm – 12.0 gm	Falus

Table 4.8: Copper coinage of the Adil Shahis

It is also interesting to compare the copper coinage of Vijayanagar rulers with the Adil Shahis who started issuing coins from about AD 1558. The weights standard followed by the Adil Shahis is indicated in Table 4.8.[7]

Again we see that the weight standards of Adil Shahis and Aravidu rulers are comparable.

References and Notes

1. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Indian Gold: An Introduction to the Cabinet of the Gold Coins in the Indian Museum*, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1990.
2. George Percy Badger (Ed.), *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema*, M.DCCC.LXIII, p. 130. The comparison between the observations of Abdur-razak and Varthema is indicated.
3. Shashikant G. Dhopate, 'Silver Coins of Vijayanagar Empire', *SSIC*, Vol. XII, p. 11.
4. A.V. Narasimhamurthy, *Coins and Currency System in Vijayanagara Empire*, Varanasi, 1991, p. 36.
5. *MAR*, 1931.
6. K. Ganesh, *Karnataka Coins*, Bangalore, 2007, p. 176.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

5

COINAGE OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

The Vijayanagar rulers issued coins in gold, silver and copper. The coin terms and the metrology were dealt in earlier chapters. In this chapter, we will attempt to understand the coin types issued by various rulers.

Sangama Dynasty

The initial period of Harihara I was spent in establishing the Vijayanagar empire. Harihara I adopted the coinage that was prevalent at the beginning of his rule. Thus his initial coinage is an adoption of the coinage of Nidugal Cholas, with Hanuman on the obverse and three-line Kannada legend *sri vira harihara*. Some of these gold gadyanas are debased, indicating that the economy was still not established. His copper coins are noticed in Kongu region and have on the obverse either Hanuman or Garuda and on the reverse the two-line Nagari legend *harihara*. A copper coin with Lakshmi on the obverse and two-line Nagari legend *harihara* or *sriharihara* is also assigned to him. These copper coins could as well be issue of Harihara II. The only reason they are assigned to Harihara I and not Harihara II is due to the absence of the title *pratapa* that are seen on the coins of Harihara II. This is the first and only time we see Lakshmi on the coins of Vijayanagar rulers. The silver coin with Hanuman on the obverse and Kannada letter *ha* is assigned to Harihara I as this type is typically crudely executed, while the known silver coins of Harihara II are well executed with Nagari legend. Similarly copper coins with Hanuman or Garuda on the obverse and Kannada or Nagari letter *ha* is also assigned to Harihara I. These coins are from the Gingee region in Tamilnadu.

The gold varaha of Bukka I is similar to the gold coin of Harihara I, with Hanuman on the obverse and Kannada legend *sri vira bukaraya* on the reverse.

Hanuman is also seen on his silver and copper coins. While the silver coins have a single Kannada letter *bu,* the copper coins have the Kannada legend *sri vira bhupatiraya* on the reverse. A copper coin with bull on the obverse and Kannada letter *bu* on the reverse is also assigned to him. This is the first time we see bull on the coins of Vijayanagar rulers.

Harihara II started with the Hanuman device on his gold varaha. His varahas are similar to those of Harihara I and Bukka I but carry on the reverse the Kannada legend *sri vira pratapa harihara.* This coin is rare thus indicating that this varaha was possibly issued for a brief time. This is also the only coin which carries both *vira* and *pratapa* titles. Once Harihara II extended the empire, he started issuing half-varahas with various devices: Siva-Parvati, Lakshmi-Narayana, Brahma-Sarasvati and Lakshmi-Narasimha. On the reverse of these coins is the Nagari legend *sri pratapa harihara.* For the first time, we start seeing the half-varahas. Possibly these half-varahas were introduced as a replacement for the debased varahas of Hanuman type issued by him and his predecessors. The Siva-Parvati as well as Lakshmi-Narayana type is frequently encountered with even now with wide die variations indicating that they were issued in large quantities. The Brahma-Sarasvati and Lakshmi-Narasimha are extremely rare. The occurrence of epithet *pratapa* as distinguished from *vira* would suggest that Harihara II might have adopted that title on his assumption of imperial dignity. Harihara II and his successors assume this title while his predecessors appear to have been content with the more modest *vira.* The silver coins of Harihara II have on the obverse the Kannada letter *ha* and Kannada numeral $2\,{}^{1}/_{2}$. On the reverse we see the legend *harihara.* The copper coins are from Kongu region in Tamilnadu and carry on the obverse a bull either to left or to right and on the reverse the Nagari legend *pratapa harihara.* This type is rare and was also adopted by Devaraya.

It is difficult to differentiate between the coins of Devaraya I and Devaraya II especially those that carry only the name *sri pratapa devaraya.* Palaeography doesn't come to our rescue because only two years that separated their rule. Traditionally the elephant type is attributed to Devaraya II as it is well known that he was fond of elephant hunt and carried titles such as *gajabentekara.* All other types are assigned to Devaraya I. It is likely that most of the gold varahas which are traditionally attributed to Devaraya I was also issued by Devaraya II. Thus in the present work all the coins that carry the legend *sri pratapa devaraya* or *sri devaraya* are assigned to Devaraya I and Devaraya II. The coin types that

carry the titles such as *rayagajaganda berunda, gajabentekara* and those that carry the elephant device are assigned to Devaraya II as Devaraya II sported the title *gajabentekara* in his inscriptions which translates to 'hunter of elephants'. It is not unlikely that some of the elephant type coins which carry the legend *sri pratapa devaraya* or *devaraya* were also issued by Devaraya I.

Devaraya I and Devaraya II continued the Siva-Parvati and Lakshmi-Narayana types and issued both half-varahas and varahas in these types. Counterfeit coins of these types have been reported.[1] The author has also seen coins with highly debased gold mostly showing up as silver coins. In some of the specimens one side is blank possibly due to poor striking. There are wide die variations indicating that these coins were struck for a long time.

One of the silver tara type is similar to those of Harihara II, with Kannada letter *ha* and Kannada numeral $2\ ^1/_2$ on the obverse and Nagari legend *devaraya* on the reverse. There is one more type which has an elephant on the obverse and the Nagari legend *devaraya* on the reverse. This type is assigned to Devaraya II due to the presence of elephant. It is not unlikely that this type was first issued by Devaraya I. Amongst the copper types, there are two major varieties in the bull/Nagari legend types. One is continuum of Harihara II types and was minted from the central Tamilnadu. Many coins in this type are executed with blundered legend. The second variety in the series has bull either standing or couchant with legend *sri pratapa devaraya* on the reverse. These types were issued from the Karnataka region. The copper coins with bull on the obverse and the Kannada legend *sri devaraya* (with conch an discus) on the reverse are assigned to both Devaraya I and Devaraya II. This coin is the most commonly available coin type amongst all the Vijayanagar coins indicating that the coin was issued for a long time. Another bull type coin with Nagari legend *sri nilaka(m)ta* on the reverse is assigned to Devaraya I and Devaraya II. Here the legend *Nilakamta* refers to Lord Siva. The presence of Nagari letter *de* in front of the bull is similar to those seen on the elephant coins. On elephant type coins attributed to Devaraya II, we see either Nagari letter *de* or reverse *de* on top of the elephant.

The quarter varahas carrying elephant on the obverse and *sri devaraya* on the reverse is assigned to Devaraya II. Incidentally these are the only known quarter varahas of Vijayanagar (and for that matter in south India). However the fact that this denomination is not mentioned by Abdur-razak suggests that this type was issued after his visit. A pana with conventionalised lion to right

with crescent-like curve above the lion's back on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse is assigned to Devaraya II again due to the presence of elephant. The obverse lion is similar to the one that is normally seen on Hoysala varahas and pana. Incidentally this is a variation of the Viraraya fanams which was popular in the south and which were issued by almost all the dynasties starting from Hoysalas. Amongst the copper issues assigned to Devaraya II, there is one type which has an elephant on the obverse and Kannada *devaraya* (with conch an discus) on the reverse. This type is similar to the commonly available bull type discussed in the previous paragraph except that the bull is replaced by the elephant on the obverse. Other types with elephant on the obverse and the Nagari legends *raya gajaganda bherunda* or *gajabetekara* or *gajavetekara sri devaraya* are assigned to Devaraya II due to the reason already cited. An interesting type in the legend *rayagajagandabherunda* series has the king in front of an elephant possibly trying to control it. There are two more interesting copper types assigned to Devaraya II. One has on the obverse an elephant and bull while the other has two elephants facing each other. Both these types are extremely rare.

A copper coin with the Nagari legend *sri paraudha devaraya* is assigned to Devaraya II who was known as Prauda Devaraya. This could also be an issue of Mallikarjuna who was also called Prauda Devaraya. Incidentally this is the only type with a weight standard of 5.5 gm ($^1/_3$ Copper tar) issued by a Sangama ruler. The coin is attributed to Devaraya II, as this is the coin possibly referred to as jital by Abdur-razak. Incidentally this weight corresponds to $^1/_3$ tara standard. Silver coins are not known after Mallikarjuna's period.

Ramachandra who ruled for a short time issued coins of Lakshmi-Narayana type. On the reverse of these coins is the Nagari legend *sri pratapa ramacha(m)dra*. A bull type copper coin with the Kannada legend *ramachamdra* is assigned to him due to the presence of bull similar to those of Devaraya I coins.

A bull type coin with bull on the obverse and Nagari legend *vijaya buka raya* is assigned to Vijayaraya by which he is known on some of the inscriptions. This coin is assigned to Bukka II by other scholars.

Mallikarjuna's silver coin has on the obverse a humped bull and on the reverse the Nagari legend *malikajunaraya*. Mallikarjuna's copper types have on the obverse an elephant to right or left and on the reverse is the Kannada legend

malikajunarayaru or *yamadidevaraya*. *Immadidevaraya* was one of the titles sported by Mallikarjuna. The copper coins are seen only in Tamilnadu region.

Saluva Dynasty

No coin of this dynasty is known. This dynasty had a short stay in power and the rulers were probably involved in establishing their position. This may be the reason for the lack of coins.

Tuluva Dynasty

The initial rulers of the dynasty were busy establishing their rule. Thus there is paucity of coins of initial rulers. A copper coin with the depiction of Narasimha on the obverse and Nagari legend *narasimha* is assigned to the Tuluva ruler Viranarasimha.

We see abundance in coinage from the rule of Krishnadevaraya. Krishnadevaraya for the first time introduced Balakrishna on his coins. His varahas and half-varahas have on the obverse the depiction of the divine baby Balakrishna seated, with one knee bent and resting on seat and the other raised up and supporting the left arm which is stretched out at ease. On the reverse is the Nagari legend *sri pratapa krashnaraya*. Several minor variations on the obverse design exist. This type was so popular that they were also issued by the chiefs of Chitradurga and Rayadurga and other up-country Palegars. This is the most common type that is frequently met with even now. A rare instance of dodda varaha of Krishnadevaraya which weighs 119.7 grains and which was minted in honour of Lord Venkatesa of Tirupati is also known. On the reverse of this coin is the Nagari legend *sri krashnaraya*.

We do not see the silver taras possibly due to paucity of silver in this region. The silver taras were replaced by heavy copper coins.

Krishnadevaraya continued the issue of the bull type copper coin with Kannada legend on the reverse. This type was originally issued by Devaraya I and later by Devaraya II. On the reverse of these coins is a conventionalized sword looking like an arrow flanked by discus and conch, with two-line Kannada legend above and below - *sri krishnaraya*. This type was minted in the Tamilnadu region. Bull type coins with Nagari legend were minted from the north Karnataka region. Amongst the popular copper type is the one with Garuda on the obverse and Nagari legend *sri pratapa kashnaraya* on the reverse. This type was issued in almost all denominations including the copper tara denomination. These coins are commonly met with even these days indicating

that they were issued for a long time possibly even after the death of Krishnadevaraya. While the higher denominations are seen only in Karnataka region, the lower denominations (especially the 3 kasu denomination) are reported both from Karnataka and central Tamilnadu.

Amongst the copper types, the one with elephant on the obverse and Nagari legend *(sri pra)tapa kashnaraya* is rarely encountered with. Similarly the coin with dancing Krishna on the obverse and Kannada legend *sri krishnaraya* is also rarely met with.

There are only two major devices that Achyutaraya used on his coins, Gandabherunda and elephant. Gandabherunda as a device was used by him for the first time. There are two variations in the depiction of Gandabheruda; in one variety, back view of Gandabherunda or double-headed eagle flying upward is shown. The huge bird is shown flying upward carrying in each of its two beaks and two claws a full grown tusker elephant. In another variety the profile of the bird is presented. The bird is shown carrying in each of its two beaks and two claws a full grown tusker elephant. On the reverse of these coins is the Nagari legend *sri pratapachyutaraya*. Both the Gandabherunda varieties were issued in gold and copper. The copper variety where back view of Gandabherunda is shown was issued in almost all denominations including the copper tara denomination. In one more copper type, an elephant is shown on the obverse. On the reverse is the Nagari legend *sri pratapachyutaraya*. A new copper type was recently reported by the author.[2] This coin has on the obverse an elephant moving to left with a lion on its back. The lion's forepaw is raised up. On the reverse is the Nagari legend *sri pratapachyutaraya*.

There are three major phases during the rule of Sadasivaraya.[3] During the first phase Sadasivaraya is shown as ruling with the help of Ramaraya and his brothers Venkatadri and Tirumala. Ramaraya is nothing but Regent on behalf of his Sovereign. The coins are issued in the name of Sadasivaraya. Amongst the varaha and half-varahas are Lakshmi-Narayana and Siva-Parvati types. These have on the reverse the Nagari legend *sri pratapa sadasivaraya* or *sri sadasivarayaru*. A pana is also assigned to Sadasivaraya. In this coin on the obverse is the depiction of God and Goddess while on the reverse is the Nagari legend *sadasivaraya*. Sadasivaraya revived the usage of Garuda on his copper coins. Here the Garuda is shown either in *virasana* pose or standing straight. On the reverse is the Nagari legend *sri pratapa sivaraya* or *sri sadasivaraya*. These types were issued in various denominations ranging from kasu denomination

to copper tara denominations. One of the copper types has the depiction of Sivalinga and Nandi on the obverse and the Nagari legend *(sri) (sa)dasivaraya* on the reverse. This is a rare type. Another copper type has on the obverse God and Goddess and on the reverse the legend *sadasivarayaru.*

As soon as Sadasivaraya was old enough to assume the government of the empire, Ramaraya put him in prison. This should have taken place some time between 1550 and 1552. The king was shown to his subjects only once a year. During this phase, Ramaraya is shown as equal to Sadasiva on many of the inscriptions. The third phase is when Ramaraya and his brothers became independent as can be seen from many inscriptions issued only in their name. It is likely that somewhere after 1560, Ramaraya and his brothers started issuing coins in their names along with Sadasivaraya and later the coinage of Sadasivaraya may have been stopped.

Aravidu Dynasty

The attribution of coins to the Aravidu rulers provides a challenge. As already stated, Ramaraya and his brothers should have started minting coins in their names after about 1560. The only coin that was definitely assigned to Ramaraya by the author in his earlier works was the copper coin with Lord Venkatesa on the obverse and Nagari and Kannada legend *(sri) ramaraya* on the reverse.[4,5] However certain copper coins earlier assigned to Venkata II and Venkata III need reexamination. These coin types are dealt in greater detail in a later chapter.

Tirumalaraya combined the office of minister with the governorship of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country. His coins from the Tamil country especially the varaha type may have been issued much before he declared himself as the Sovereign after the Rakkasa-Tangadigi war. However there is some doubt being raised now on whether all the issues earlier attributed to him were really issued by him. He introduced a new type on his varaha and half-varaha coins. On his varahas and half varahas, Sri Rama is shown seated wearing tall crown or *kirita,* with Sita seated by his side to the left and Lakshmana standing behind the throne to the right. On the reverse we see the Nagari legend *sri tirumalarayalu.*

Srirangaraya I issued varaha with Venkatesa on the obverse and Nagari legend *sri ra(m)garaya* on the reverse. His copper coins have the depiction of Garuda or Gandabherunda on the obverse and legend *sri ramgaraya* on the reverse.

Venkatapatiraya II, who was a powerful ruler, issued varahas with Venkatesa on the obverse. One type has on the reverse the legend *chalama vemkataraya* while the other has the legend *vira vemkatarya*. He introduced several varieties on his copper coins. We see devices such as Garuda, Gandabherunda, couchant bull and Lakshmi-Narayana on his copper coins. On the reverse of these coins is the Kannada legend *sri vemkataraya*.

Srirangaraya II who was also known as Chikkarayalu, appears to have been a weak ruler. His copper coin in kasu denomination has on the obverse couchant bull and on the reverse the Telugu legend *chekarayalu*. The weakening of Vijayanagar power is evident from the coinage. From now on we start seeing the coins in lower denomination.

Varaha and half-varaha coins with Venkatesa on the obverse and the Nagari legend restored as *srivemkatesvarayanamah* need special mention. These coins are seen in Andhra region in sizeable numbers even now. The reverse legend on the coins is either well executed or have corrupt legend. These may be the issue of Aravidu rulers starting from Ramaraya. The better specimen may correspond to the early rulers till Venkata II, and the coins with corrupt legend may be issues of later rulers and suggests weakening of power. The fact that this type was adopted by East India Company, Dutch, Danish and French suggests that these were in circulation during the mid seventeenth century.

General Observations on the Coinage

1. The clear relation between power and coinage is evident. While we see scarcity of coins during the period of Harihara I and Bukka I, we see abundance in coinage during the period of Harihara II, Devaraya I and Devaraya II. We again see decrease in coinage from the period of Mallikarjuna and no coins attributable to Virupaksha II and Praudharaya are known. Coins definitely attributable to Saluva dynasty are also not known. We again see increase in coinage from the period of Krishnadevaraya. The decline in coinage is again noticed from the period of Sadasivaraya. The coins of Ramaraya, Venkatadri and Tirumala from Karnataka country are scarce probably due to their preoccupation in fighting wars with the Deccan Sultanates. The coins of all other Aravidu rulers are also scarce.

2. While we expect to see proliferation of coins of a ruler if the period of his rule was longer, it is always not true. While there is definite correlation between power and coinage, the correlation between period of rule and coinage is

always not established. Although Virupaksha II is stated to have ruled for 21 years, his coins are not known.

3. Which also brings us to one more observation, the coins of earlier rulers were in circulation and it is not likely that all the coins are withdrawn overnight after a new ruler comes to power. Thus the Garuda coins issued by Krishnadevaraya would have continued to be issued/in vogue even during the period of his successors especially his immediate successor Achyutaraya. The period a coinage was continued to be issued and used was amongst other things dependent on the power of current ruler, the policy of the current ruler, the popularity of the coins and the place of issue. Virupaksha I and Bukka II's coins are not known. Thus the coins of Harihara II and earlier rulers should have been in circulation during their period. Devaraya I's bull type coins may have also been issued during Devaraya II's rule. In terms of popularity, one can cite the example of Durgi pagoda which was continued to be issued long after Krishnadevaraya's rule. It should take technically more time to change coinage especially if the place is away from the Central power.

4. The fact that the coins of earlier rulers were continued to be used can also be seen from the fact that the succeeding ruler generally did not use the device used by his predecessor. Achyutaraya did not use the devices such as Garuda and Balakrishna which were used by Krishnadevaraya. Sadasivaraya again started using the Garuda device used by Krishnadevaraya but did not issue coins with Gandabherunda which was used by his predecessor Achyutaraya.

5. Each powerful ruler who succeeded another powerful ruler tried to introduce a new device. Thus Devaraya II issued coins with elephant and his titles; Krishnadevaraya introduced various devices such as Garuda, Venkatesa, Balakrishna on his coins; Achyutaraya for the first time issued coins with Gandabherunda.

6. From the preceding observations we may conclude that if a powerful king ruled for a longer time, then there will be abundance in coinage which is likely to be in circulation for a long time even after the termination of the rule of that ruler.

7. Most of the copper coins issued from the Karnataka region are of the tara or half-tara denomination while the copper coins issued from the Tamil country are of three kasu denomination. Thus the denomination of the coins minted was dependent on the prevailing acceptable standards that have long been established in that place.

8. The gold coins and silver coins are noticed only in Karnataka region and the primary coinage in Tamilnadu region was copper (except for the Viraraya pana) which matches with the practice established earlier in the region. Karnataka had the tradition of issue of gold coins by its rulers due to availability of gold in the region although silver coinage was not that prolific due to scarcity of silver which was mostly imported.

9. From the period of Mallikarjuna we see the weakening of power and most of the territories being lost. Thus for about fifty years till the arrival of Krishnadevaraya to the throne, the trade would have got affected which probably would have lead to the import of silver being affected. This would have forced Krishnadevaraya to reform his coinage by withdrawing silver coins and substituting them with higher denomination copper coins.[6]

10. In fact we start seeing the copper coins in Karnataka region only from the period of Vijayanagar Empire. Earlier dynasties, especially those that ruled from 9th to 14th century, issued coins mostly in gold. The Hoysalas and Yadavas of Devagiri issued coins in silver and gold. Most of the copper coins issued from the region by the Vijayanagar rulers were replacement for silver taras due to scarcity of silver in this region. This is further corroborated by the fact that inscriptions from the region rarely make mention of copper coins. However once the nayakas were empowered to issue coins, we start seeing coins in lower denominations in the Karnataka region.

11. As already stated in an earlier chapter, the inscriptions make extensive mention of pana. However pana that are definitely attributable to the Vijayanagar rulers are only few. Thus the Viraraya pana must have been in circulation during the period. These panas were introduced by the Hoysala rulers and continued to be issued by all the succeeding dynasties including the Vijayanagar. This is again a case of a popular coin being adopted by the rulers.

12. Over the 300+ years of rule of the Vijayanagar rulers, the territorial extent of the empire varied. Areas were added during strong kings and lost during weak kings. Thus technically, the coin circulation of the rulers also varied. Madura was captured during Bukka I's time and it is unlikely that coins of Harihara I would have circulated in the region. Cuddappah was occupied during Harihara I's time and was with Vijayanagar for a long time.[7] However other factors discussed earlier also decide the extent of circulation of coins.

13. As already stated, during the long period of minting, contemporary

counterfeit have been noticed on certain types. Also mint errors have been seen on some types. These should not be confused as new types.[8]

References and Notes

1. G. Ajit Kumar, 'A Counterfeit Gold Coin of Devaraya II', *SSIC*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-66.
2. K. Ganesh, 'Some More Coins from Banavasi Region', Presented at the Annual Conference of South Indian Numismatic Society, Udupi, 2009. To be published in *SSIC*, Vol. XX.
3. Henry Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, B.G. Paul & Co. Publishers, 1927, p. 28.
4. K. Ganesh and Girijapathy, *The Coins of the Vijayanagar Empire*, Bangalore, 1997.
5. K. Ganesh, *Karnataka Coins*, Bangalore, 2006.
6. O. Harihariah, 'The Metrology of Vijayanagar Currency', *SSIC*, Vol. XII, 2002, pp. 69-82.
7. O. Harihariah, Paper to be published. The author thanks O. Hariharaiah for sharing the abstract of the paper.
8. Here are some examples.

Varaha of Devaraya with blank obverse	
Copper coin similar to Durgi varaha	
Achyutaraya's varaha with mint error on the reverse	

6

COINS OF RAMARAYA, TIRUMALA AND VENKATADRI

Sadasivaraya, during his coronation, due to age was unfit to manage the State affairs. Hence Ramaraya assumed the role of Protector. According to *Chikkaraya Vamsavali,* all powers were vested on Ramaraya.[1] Although Ramaraya started as a Protector; at some point later he usurped the throne.[2]

There were three major phases during the rule of Sadasivaraya.[3] During the first phase, Ramaraya is nothing but Regent on behalf of his Sovereign. Thus in one of the inscriptions issued in 1546 we read that Sadasiva gave orders to Ramaraya and then Ramaraya makes a grant according to the King's orders. He at once secured the co-operation of his two brothers in the ministership; the administration of justice was assigned to Tirumala while Venkatadri took over the supervision of the State finances. In 1543 Tirumala was governor of Udayagiri, and in 1551-52 we find him fulfilling the same office.[4] As to Venkatadri, the *Ramarajiyamu* mentions the town of Kandanol, Karnul district, as the seat of his government.[5] During this phase the coins were issued in the name of Sadasivaraya. These coins have already been examined in the previous chapter.

As soon as Sadasivaraya was old enough to assume the government of the empire, Ramaraya put him in prison. This should have taken place some time between 1550 and 1552. The king was shown to his subjects only once a year. He was no more than a mere tool in the hands of Ramaraya, who was practically the emperor of Vijayanagara. During this second stage, the inscriptions put the power of Ramaraya on equality with that of Sadasiva. In 1551 a private grant is made 'for the merit of Sadasiva and Ramaraya'.[6] Tirumala and Venkatadri seems to have rebelled but later were pardoned by Ramaraya.[7]

In the third phase we see Ramaraya assuming full powers. Rumours were probably spread that Sadasivaraya was dead and Ramaraya was nominated as the king. This should have happened some time during 1563. From this time onwards, the ceremony of showing Sadasiva was stopped. An inscription during this time mentions that *Rajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Virapratapa Maharaya Ramadevaraya Aiyyangar* was seated on the jeweled throne in Penukonda. The famous Gandikota Pagoda was issued by him which has on the obverse a figure of Vishnu standing under a canopy.[8] Few years before Talikota war, Ramaraya seems to have handed over to his brothers all the governmental affairs and devoted himself to music and literature.[9] A year or two before the disaster of Talikota, Venkatadri is stated to have been ruling the whole kingdom, and in this capacity to have conferred the government of Barakura-rajya (Barkur) on Sadasivaraya-Nayaka, the founder of the Ikkeri Nayaks.[10]

Tirumala combined the offices of minister with governorship of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country. His inscription dated 1564, allowed Bommanayaka of Vellore to make grants to the temples of that place.[11]

There are two versions of what happened after the Talikota war. The most popular and acceptable version is that both Ramaraya and Venkatadri died in the battle and Tirumala ran away to Penukonda with Sadasiva. Sadasiva is shown as ruling from Penukonda. Soon after, Tirumala assassinated Sadasiva and assumed imperial titles. According to another version Venkatadri, the brother of Ramaraya ruled for 6 $^{1}/_{2}$ years and later Tirumala ruled for 7 $^{1}/_{2}$ months.[12]

The only coin that was definitely assigned to Ramaraya by the author in his earlier works was the copper coin with Lord Venkatesa on the obverse and Nagari and Kannada legend (*sri*) *ramaraya* on the reverse.[13,14] Brown describes a coin (Gandikota varaha) cited in the earlier paragraph and attributes it to Ramaraya. He has however not illustrated this coin and it is thus difficult to know as to which coin he is referring. He also mentions of 'Venkatapati pagoda' which has on the obverse Venkatesa standing and on the reverse the Nagari legend. Certain copper coins earlier assigned to Venkatapatiraya III need reexamination. Some more types recently seen are also examined. All these are discussed in the following sections.

Coins with legend *sri vemkatadri raya*

A copper coin with Hanuman seated facing to his left and Nagari legend

on the reverse read as *srivemkatapatiraya* in earlier works was assigned to Venkatapatiraya II. During the reading in the earlier works, the portion of the legend *patiraya* was restored as they were defaced on the coin. However a new specimen seen by the author where all the letters are clearly seen has the legend *srive(m)katadriraya* and not *srivemkatapatiraya* as originally proposed. This is clearly a coin issued in the name of Venkatadri.

A copper coin with bull on the obverse and legend *srivemkatadriraya* is also assigned to Venkatadri. This coin was noticed by the author subsequent to the publication of his earlier works. Incidentally this type is discussed in Mitchiner's work but the reverse reading has been read as *srivemkataraya* and assigned to Venkata II.

There is another type which has Gandabherunda on the obverse. The reverse legend is restored as .../*vemkatakaradri*/...While there is doubt in the reading, there is no doubt in the assignment of the coin to Venkatadri, as the letters cannot correspond to any other Vijayanagar ruler. The Gandabherunda is similar to those seen on the coins of Achyutaraya.

A coin with Garuda on the obverse and Nagari legend possibly reading *sri vekatadriraya* is also attributed to Venkatadri. In the legend only the letters *va* and *ka* are seen and thus was attributed to Venkatapatiraya II in earlier works. The coin corresponds to the weight standards prevalent during Venkatadri time rather than Venkatapatiraya II time.

All the four types discussed above correspond to the weight standard prevalent during the rule of Tuluva rulers Krishnadevaraya, Achyutaraya and Sadasivaraya. However the weight standard seems to have changed subsequent to the issue of the above types and the weight of the copper tara was brought down from about 16.5 gm to about 14 gm. Thus the issue of these four types should have preceded the issue of subsequent copper coins discussed below.

Before proceeding to discuss other types, we should also note that there is one more contender for the above four types. Venkata I who succeeded Achyutaraya was also known as Venkatadri. However he was a weak ruler, very young when he came to the throne and ruled for about six months. In all likelikhood, he may not be the one who would have issued these four types during six months of rule.

The above coins were possibly issued during AD 1560 - AD 1562. After 1562, the copper tara weight standards were brought down from 16.5 gm to 14 gm.

Coins with legend *sri ramaja vemkatadri raya*

Coins with Garuda in various poses on the obverse and Nagari and Kannada legend on the reverse which was earlier read as *sri / ramaraja / vemkatara / ya* were assigned to Venkata III by the author in his earlier works as Venkata III was known as Ramaraja Venkataraya in his inscriptions. These types were continued to be assigned to Venkata III by subsequent authors.

On reexamination, the reverse legend on the series should be restored as *sri / ramaraja / vemkatad(r)i / raya*. In the legend the first line and the last line are in Nagari while the rest are in Kannada. While the last letter *d(r)i* was not seen on the specimens illustrated earlier, on some of the coins recently examined by this author, the letter is clearly seen. It is well known that Ramaraya's brother Venkatadri was known as Ramaraja Venkatadri in many of his inscriptions. The fact that these series of coins are issues of Venkatadri (either singly or in joint rule with Ramaraya) and not Venkatapatiraya III is also confirmed by the following facts.

1. There is a copper coin with Garuda in *virasana* posture on the obverse and Kannada legend *sri ramaraja vemkatadri raya* on the reverse, which is countermarked on both sides. On the obverse side, we see on the countermark a symbol similar to those seen on gold coins attributed to Bijapur Sultans[15] and on the reverse we see on the countermark a legend which is difficult to decipher. It is well known that Bidar Sultanate rulers counterstruck coins of Bahmanis.[16] However this coin could have been countermarked by any of the four sultanates. This should have happened just after the Talikota war as the countermark is done only to indicate the overpowering of a Sovereign.[17] The fact that countermark happened also indicate that the coins were current during the war.

2. There is also a coin type where the reverse legend is *ramaraja tirumala vemkatadri* which is discussed later. This is a joint issue of Venkatadri and Tirumala.

3. It is unlikely that Venkata III was powerful enough to mint coins of copper tara denomination from the Hampi region from where these coins are known. During his time, most of the territories from where these coins are known were no more under Vijayanagar territory.

The above coins were possibly issued from AD 1564 till the Talikota war.

Coins with legend *sri ramaja tirumalaraja vemkatadri raya* and *sri ramaja timmaraja vemkatadri raya*

Coin type with seated Garuda on the obverse and Kannada legend *sri / ramaraja / tirumalaraja / vemkatad(r)i / raya* on the reverse is a joint issue of Tirumala and Venkatadri. Similarly a coin type with seated Garuda on the obverse and Kannada legend *sri / ramaraja / timmaraja / vemkatad(r)i / raya* on the reverse is also a joint issue of Tirumala and Venkatadri. Timmaraja was also the name of one of the sons of Ramaraya. However the Timmaraja here should refer to Tirumala.[18] The above coins were possibly issued from AD 1562 to 1564.

Venkatadri and Tirumala in their inscriptions prefixed their names with the name of their brother Ramaraja possibly as a mark of respect. Thus in their inscriptions, Venkatadri is known as Ramaraja Venkatadri and Tirumala as Ramaraja Tirumala or Ramaraja Timmaraja.[19] If we consider that the legend *ramaraja vemkatadri* refers to Venkatadri, then it suggests that Ramaraya was a nominal ruler towards the later days and Venkatadri was given complete power especially in the Karnataka region. This is because the coins with legend *ramaraja vemkatadri* were struck with various obverse devices and they are available in more numbers than the other types. However if we consider that the legend *ramaraja vemkatadri* refers to both Ramaraya and Venkatadri (which is less likely), it can be inferred that both were equally powerful and were in charge of the empire. In the same way, the coin *ramaraja tirumala vemkatadri* may be taken as an issue of the three brothers (which is less likely) or a joint issue of Venkatadri and Tirumala (which is more likely).

From the coins described so far we can infer that:

1. Venkatadri was a powerful ruler as can be seen from the several coin types issued by him. All these types are available in more numbers than the joint issue with his brother Tirumala. Thus for most of the time, Venkatadri was in charge of the Karnataka region, occasionally sharing the power with his brother Tirumala. According to Kondyata grant of Venkata III, Venkatadri was to his brother as Lakshmana was to Rama.[20] He was a great hero according to the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III:[21]

2. Tirumala was in less favour of his brother or was busy administering the Tamil country as Governor and the *Varaha* type and other coins attributed to him may have been issued during this time.

Gandikota Varaha and Venkatapati Pagoda

As already stated, Brown states that Gandikota pagoda was minted by Ramaraya. While he describes the obverse as having the figure of Vishnu, he doesn't describe the reverse of the coin.[22] He further describes 'Venkatapati pagoda' struck by one of the rajas, named Venkata (probably Venkata II). He describes the coin thus: "On the obverse of this coin Vishnu is standing under an arch, and on the reverse is the Nagari legend *sri venkatesvaraya namah.*"[23]

The coin type described by Brown as Venkatapati pagoda is the one described by M.H. Krishna as Gandikota varaha. However in this work the author would prefer to call these as Venkatapati pagoda as these coins are seen more at Tadapatri than Gandikota. This type was earlier attributed to Srirangaraya III.

It is likely that the minting of Venkatapati pagoda was started by Venkatadri (with the support of his brother Ramaraya). The following are the reasons for this conclusion.

1. Since the copper tara coins of Venkatadri are now known, it is more likely that he also minted gold coins. Since no other gold coins attributable to this ruler is known, he should have started the issue of Venkatapati pagoda coins.

2. These coins are seen in reasonable quantity even these days in various fabrics from extremely well executed to coins which are poorly executed. It is unlikely that a weak king like Srirangaraya III would have minted these coins in such large quantities. It is likely that the poorly executed coins were his issues while the better specimens were issued by earlier rulers starting from Venkatadri. Tirumala may have made changes to the coinage by striking the Rama, Sita, Lakshmana type coin when he moved to Vijayanagar for a short time after about six months after the Talikota war, but it is possible that he would have continued issuing the Venkatapati pagoda once he moved to Penukonda.

3. The gold coins of all Aravidu rulers after Tirumala are rare. Even Tirumala's gold coins are scarce. Given this background, it is unlikely that these coins were issued only by Srirangaraya III or for that matter the weak rulers after Venkata II.

4. The legend *sri venkatesvaraya namah* may be an indirect pointer to Venkatadri.

Other types

Copper coins with the legend *rama ra*? and reported from central Tamilnadu were assigned to Ramaraya by Mitchiner.[24] This coin series was assigned to Marathas of Gingee (in particular Rajaram) by K. Ganesh.[25] In most coins the reverse legend is not seen completely and in particular the last letter is not seen. It is not clear whether this was deliberate or this was due to the die being far bigger than the coin. On some of the coins, the last letter is seen as *ma*, thus the complete legend being *rama rama*. However in some of the specimens examined by the author recently, the last letter is seen as *ja* thus the complete legend being *rama raja*. However there is still doubt in attributing these types to Ramaraya and this is discussed in a later chapter.

Conclusion

The coins of Venkatadri and his joint issue with Tirumala (of course with the blessings of his brother Ramaraya) beyond doubt prove that the three brothers were controlling Vijayanagar during the later period of Sadasivaraya's rule. The numismatic evidence provided is consistent with the evidence provided by the inscriptions. However what stands out clearly (and not so in the inscriptions) is that Venkatadri was an important element in the Vijayanagar much more than his brother Tirumala. He was powerful and acknowledged so and given complete support by his brother Ramaraya. The coins issued in the name of Venkatadri alone also confirm that Venkatadri was given complete power especially during the last few years before Talikota war. He had to occasionally share the government with Tirumala but this should have been for a brief time. The countermarking of the coins issued in the name Ramaraja Venkatadri, suggests that the coins were current during the war and that the Deccan Sultanates were furious with the brothers. This is the only Vijayanagar coin type that is countermarked. The scarcity of all these coins relative to Sadasivaraya's coins indicates that the coins were minted probably after AD 1560. The poor fabrics of the coins especially with legends *ramaraja vemkatadri* and *ramaraja tirumalaraja vemkatadri* indicate a declining economy possibly due to constant war with the Deccan Sultanates.

References and Notes

1. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, University of Madras, 1919, p. 302.
2. Jonathan Scott, *Ferishta's History of Deccan*, London, 1794, p. 381.

3. Henry Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara,* B.G. Paul & Co. Publishers, 1927, pp. 28-29.
4. *Ibid.*
5. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *op.cit.*, p. 222.
6. Henry Heras, *op.cit.*, p. 31.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
8. C.J. Brown, *The Coins of India,* Indological Book House, 1973 (Reprint), p. 64.
9. Henry Heras, *op.cit.*, p. 35.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 39. Quotes *Svaramelakalanidhi* written by Ramaraya's minister Ramayamatya Todaramalla.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
12. *MAR,* 1932, p. 117. This is the translation of the paper manuscript volume belonging to the Mysore Oriental Library entitled *Vidyarnayakalajnanam* containing about 300 folio pages in Telugu characters. The earliest reference to this work occurs in the encyclopaedic work in Sanskrit of King Basava I (1697-1714). It is likely that *Vidyarnayakalajnanam* belongs to the period from about 1580 to 1600.
13. K. Ganesh and Girijapathy, *The Coins of the Vijayanagar Empire,* Bangalore, 1997.
14. K. Ganesh, *Karnataka Coins,* Bangalore, 2006.
15. See the similarity of the countermark on the obverse with the coin 11.15 illustrated in *Karnataka Coins*.
16. *See* D. Rajgor, *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate of India,* p. 42 and J.R. Hunnargikar, 'Coin of Ali Barid Shah', *ND,* Vol. 23-24, pp. 79-82.
17. This point was first raised by the author in his earlier work. See K. Ganesh, *Karnataka Coins,* p. 166.
18. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* mentions that Yera Timmaraja made himself ruler. Tirumala thus appointed himself as the ruler. S Iyengar, *op.cit,* p. 302.
19. For example, in an inscription dated 1566-67 (a year after the Talikota war), a petition was said to being given to Mahamandalesvara Rama Raja Tirumala Raja, who after obtaining sanction at the feet of Sadasiva Deva

Maharaja, granted a village. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, e-Text, p. 82.

20. *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 129.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
22. A coin in the collection of Pramod Vernekar is shown here. This coin weighs 2.8 gm which corresponds to the weight standards that prevailed at Gandikota during Maratha times. Although the legend seen on the coin is *sri pratapa ramaraya*, the palaeography of the legend seen on the coin doesn't correspond to Ramaraya's period but atleast a century later.

23. C.J. Brown, *op.cit.*
24. Michael Mitchiner, *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, Part Two, pp. 186-188.
25. K. Ganesh, *The Coins of Tamilnadu*, Bangalore, 2002, pp. 153-165.

7

CATALOGUE OF COINS

Note:

1. The coins are listed according to the chronological order of rulers. For each ruler, coins of different metals - gold, silver and copper are included in that order.

2. The metal, weight in gm, size (diameter of the coin) in mm, the rarity estimate and where possible the provenance of the coins are given in that order.

3. Four ratings for rarity have been used:

   a. C - Common: Almost always available but not in quantity.

   b. S - Scarce: Available with difficulty; may take upto six months to get a specimen.

   c. R - Rare: Seldom available; may take about one year to get a specimen.

   d. XR - Extremely Rare: Almost never available. Not more than five specimens have been noticed in the last 10 years.

   It should be noted that the rarity can change if a hoard containing the coins surface.

4. The provenance mentioned may not cover all the find spots. The place where the author has seen the coins or where it has been stated to have been found by other authors is what is listed.

5. Some coins are available in Hampi bazaar, collected by the dealers from the nearby villages. The Hampi region may therefore be treated as an area of about 100 km radius around Hampi.

6. Where for a type there are weight variations, they are also indicated and illustrations provided. The provenance is indicated only for the first coin although the same is applicable to all coins illustrated for the type unless mentioned otherwise.

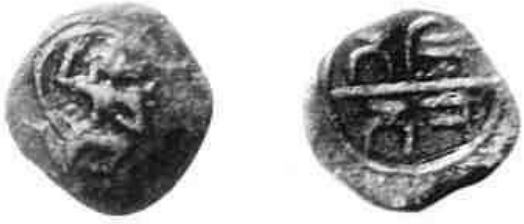
7. The split legend across the lines is indicated by a slash.

8. The obverse is abbreviated as obv and the reverse as rev.

9. The above method of documentation has also been followed in subsequent chapters. However for a coin series, the provenance is indicated for all the coin types in the series and not for individual coins.

Harihara I

1. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, S, Arasikere, Hassan. **2.** Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Hanuman to right, with knees slightly bent, left hand resting on left knee and right hand raised up as in the act of striking; a dagger at the rear. Some authors have identified the figure as that of a warrior. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with rules between the lines *sri vi / ra ha ri / ha ra.*	
3. Gold, 3.4 gm, 13 mm, XR, Belgaum. Obv. Hanuman as in the previous coin. Rev. Nagari legend *sri vi ra.*	

4. Silver, 0.06 gm, 6 mm, R, Hampi. **5.** Silver, 0.11 gm, 6 mm, R, Hampi. Obv. Hanuman to right; dagger at the rear. Rev. Nagari letter *ha*.	
6. Silver, 0.06 gm, 6 mm, R, Hampi. Obv. Hanuman to right; dagger at the rear. Rev. Nagari letter *ha*(?).	
7. Silver, 0.06 gm, 6 mm, R, Hampi. Obv. Hanuman to right. Rev. Kannada letter *ha*.	
8. Copper. Obv. Hanuman to right but face is looking back; dagger at the rear. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with rules between the lines *sri vi / ra ha ri / ha ra*. The coin is illustrated and described by M.H. Krishna.[1] This coin is similar to the gold coin illustrated previously. The author has not seen coins of this type.	
9. Copper, 1.75 gm, 15 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Hanuman to right. The tail is lifted up behind the head. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *ha ri / ha ra*.	

10. Copper, 0.6 gm, 12 mm, R, Tirucoilur, Coimbatore, Karur. Obv. Hanuman to left. The tail is lifted up behind the head. Rev. Kannada letter *ha*.	
11. Copper. Obv. Garuda with long beak, standing to right. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with rules between the lines *sri vi / ra ha ri / ha ra*. The coin is illustrated and described by M.H. Krishna.[2]	
12. Copper, 3.7 gm, 15 mm, XR, Bavani. Obv. Garuda to right with bent knees, left hand resting on left knee and right hand raised up; discus and conch on either side of head; sun and moon on either side of the body. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *ha ri / ha ra*.	
13. Copper, 0.9 gm, 12 mm, S, Karur, Tirucoilur. Obv. Garuda to right. Rev. Conch and discus; below Nagari letter *ha*(?).	
14. Copper, 1.5 gm, 15 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Mythical lion (*Saradula*) charging to left; crescent moon above. Rev. Two-line Kannada legend with interlinear rules *ha ri / ha ra*.	

15. Copper, 3.8 gm, 18 mm, R, Tirucoilur, Coimbatore. Obv. Lakshmi seated facing, holding lotus in both hands. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *ha ri / ha ra.*	
16. Copper, 2.5 gm, 15 mm, R, Coimbatore. Obv. Lakshmi seated facing, holding lotus in both hands. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *sri ha / ri ha ra.* In the above two coins, the deity has been identified as Vishnu by Mitchiner. While the deity is not seen clearly on the first coin, the deity on the second coin is clearly seen as Lakshmi holding lotus in both hands.	

Bukka I

17. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, R, Arasikere, Hassan. **18.** Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Hanuman to right, with knees slightly bent, left hand resting on left knee and right hand raised up as in the act of striking; a dagger at the rear. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with rules between the lines *sri vi / ra bu ka / ra ya.*	

19. Silver, 0.07 gm, 5 mm, S, Hampi region. Obv. Hanuman to right. Rev. Kannada letter *bu*.	
20. Copper, 3.3 gm, 15 mm, C, Karur. **21.** Copper, 3.2 gm, 15 mm. Obv. Hanuman to right, with knees slightly bent, left hand resting on left knee and right hand raised up as in the act of striking. The tail is clearly seen to form an arch over the head and curl up in front. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri vi ra / bhu pa ti / ra ya*. The first letter in the second line is either *bhu* or *bha* + *ka* = *bhaka*; the former appears to be the better option. The legend is generally corrupt.	
22. Copper, 1.36 gm, 13 mm, R, Tirucoilur. Obv. Bull right; crescent above. Rev. Conch and discus; below Kannada letter *bu*.	

Harihara II

23. Gold, 3.4 gm, 13 mm, R. Obv. Hanuman to right; a dagger at the rear. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with rules between the lines *sri vi ra / pra ta pa ha / ri ha ra*.	

24. Gold, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, C,
Shimoga, Bellary.

Obv. Siva seated in *padmasana* with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a trident and the other is around his consort's waist. One right hand holds a *damaruga* while the other is in *abhayamudra* or the attitude of reassurance. The Goddess has joined her hands in devotional attitude. Near Siva's head are the sun and moon.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa ha ri / ha ra*.

25. Gold, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, C,
Shimoga, Bellary.

Obv. Siva seated in *padmasana* with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a trident and the other is around his consort's waist. One right hand holds a battle-axe while the other is in *abhayamudra* or the attitude of reassurance. The Goddess has joined her hands in devotional attitude. Near Siva's head are the sun and moon.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa ha ri / ha ra*.

26. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, C,
Shimoga, Belgaum.

Obv. Narayana seated in *padmasana* with consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. The God holds on one right hand the *Sudarsana chakra* or discus and the other is in *abhayamudra*. One left hand holds the *sankha* or conch while the other is around consort's waist.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa ha ri / ha ra*.

27. Gold, 1.7 gm, XR.

Obv. Brahma seated with Sarasvati. The God's hands are thus disposed: *abhaya* (with rosary?), ladle, *kalasa* or *pasa* and *pustaka*. The last helps the identification of God with Brahma. The Goddess appears to hold a rod like thing, perhaps *rudra-veena*.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa ha ri / ha ra*.

The illustration provided by M.H. Krishna is reproduced here.[3] Although not clear, the rod like object held by Goddess is seen.

28. Gold, 1.7 gm, XR.

Obv. Narasimha seated in *padmasana* with consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. The God holds on one right hand the *Sudarsana chakra* or discus and the other is in *abhayamudra*. One left hand holds the *sankha* or conch while the other is around consort's waist.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa ha ri / ha ra*.

One specimen is in British Museum collection as stated by M.H. Krishna.[4]

29. Silver, 0.13 gm, 5 mm, S, Hampi region.

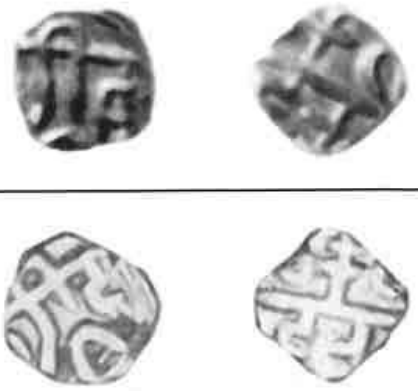
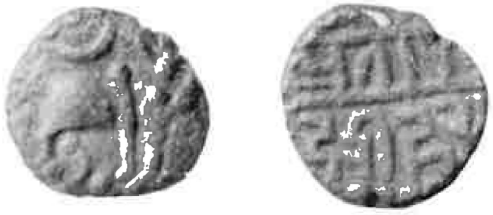
30. Silver, 0.15 gm, 6 mm.

31. Silver, 0.20 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Nagari letter *ha* followed by Kannada numeral 2 and two vertical strokes (2 ½). A dot is seen above the numeral on some lower denomination coins.

Rev. Dagger to left and two-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *ha ri / ha ra*.

Other denomination 0.06 gm, 4 mm.

32. Silver, 0.5 gm, 5 mm, S, Belgaum. **33.** Silver, 1.8 gm, 8 mm, Belgaum. Obv. Nagari legend in two lines *sri ha / (ri)*. Rev. Vertical sword pointing downwards, flanked by sun and moon. Below Nagari legend *ha ra*.	
34. Copper, 2.5 gm, 14 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Bull moving to right; crescent moon above and dagger in front. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *pra ta pa / ha ri ha ra*.	
35. Copper, 2.8 gm, 15 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Bull moving to right; a dagger in front. Rev. Moon and sun on top; below two-line Nagari legend *pra ta pa ha / ri ha ra*.	
36. Copper, 3.2 gm, 16 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Bull moving to left; dagger in front; four petalled flower on top. Rev. In four lines, the first being a sword, the second line being sun and moon and in the next two lines Nagari legend *pra ta pa ha / ri ha ra*.	
37. Copper, 3.1 gm, 14 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Elephant to left. Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend in three lines with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa ha ri / ha ra*.	

Devaraya I & Devaraya II

38. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, S, Shimoga, Sagar. **39**. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm. **40**. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Siva seated in *padmasana* with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a trident and the other is around his consort's waist. One right hand holds a *damaruga* while the other is in *abhayamudra*. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya*.	
41. Gold, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, S, Sagar, Belgaum. **42**. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, S. Obv. Siva seated in padmasana with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a *mriga* or antelope and the other is around his consort's waist. One right hand holds a *damaru* while the other is in *abhayamudra*. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya*.	
43. Gold, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, S, Shimoga. **44**. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, S. Obv. Narayana seated in *padmasana* with consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. The God holds on one right hand the *Sudarsana chakra* or discus	

and the other is in *abhayamudra*. One left hand holds the *sankha* or conch while the other is around consort's waist. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya*.	
45. Silver, 0.2 gm, 8 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Nagari letter *ha* followed by Kannada numeral 2 and two vertical strokes (2 ½). A dot above the numeral. Rev. Dagger to left and two-line Nagari legend *de va / ra ya*.	
46. Copper, 3.1 gm, 14 mm, R. Obv. Two-line Nagari legend *sri pra / ta pa*; dagger on the left side. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *de va / ra ya* flanked by discus and conch on either side.	
47. Copper, 3.6 gm, 17 mm, S, Karur. Obv. Humped bull moving to right; a conch in front. Rev. Dagger above and two-line Nagari legend sometimes with rule between the lines *pra ta pa de / va ra ya*. The legend is often corrupt.	
48. Copper, 3.3 gm, 16 mm, S, Karur. Obv. Bull moving to right; crescent moon above and a conch in front. Rev. Dagger above and two-line Nagari legend *sri de va / ra ya*.	

49. Copper, 3.4 gm, 17 mm, S, Thanjavur. Obv. Humped bull moving to right; crescent moon and sun above with a rule below them; a conch in front. Rev. Dagger above and two-line Nagari legend *pra ta pa de / va ra ya.*	
50. Copper, 3.1 gm, 15 mm, S, Thanjavur. Obv. Humped bull moving to right; dagger in front. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya.*	
51. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm, S, Belgaum. **52**. Copper, 3.5 gm, 15 mm. Obv. Humped bull moving to left; crescent moon and sun above. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya.*	
53. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm, S, Shimoga. **54**. Copper, 3.4 gm, 13 mm. Obv. Bull couchant to left. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya.*	
55. Copper, 3.4 gm, 17 mm, R. Obv. Bull to right. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya.*	

56. Copper, 3.4 gm, 17 mm, R. Obv. Bull to left; crescent above. Rev. Dagger above and two-line Nagari legend *sri de va / ra ya.*	
57. Copper, 2.8 gm, 14 mm, C, Karur, Tirucoilur. **58.** Copper, 3.2 gm, 16 mm, C. **59.** Copper, 3.4 gm, 16 mm, C. Obv. Bull to left with crescent moon and sun above. Some specimens have the Nagari letter *de* in front of the bull. Rev. In three lines (Kannada characters) (1) *sri de va* (2) A dagger between conch and discus (3) *ra ya.* Other denominations 0.7 gm, 12 mm, S; 1.5 gm, 14 mm, S.	
60. Copper, 3.2 gm, 17 mm, C, Karur. **61.** Copper, 3.7 gm, 14 mm, C. Obv. Humped bull to right with crescent moon and sun above. Some specimens have the Nagari letter *de* in front of the bull. Rev. In three lines (Kannada characters) (1) *sri de va* (2) A dagger between conch and discus (3) *ra ya.*	
62. Copper, 3.5 gm, 17 mm, S, Madurai. Obv. Bull to right with crescent moon and sun above. Nagari letter *de* in front of the bull. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri / ni la ka (m) / tha.*	

63. Copper, 3.5 gm, 16 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Standing king with head off the flan. The legs are splayed outwards to accommodate the Kannada letter *de*. Rev. Standing bull to right with crescent moon above; dagger in front of the bull.	

Ramachandra

64. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, XR, Belgaum. **65**. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, R, Shimoga. Obv. Narayana seated in *padmasana* with consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rules between the lines *sri pra / ta pa ra ma / cha (m)dra*.	
66. Copper, 1.6 gm, 14 mm, XR, Hyderabad. Obv. Bull to right; sun and moon above. Rev. Two-line Kannada legend with rules between the line *ra ma / cha m dra*.	

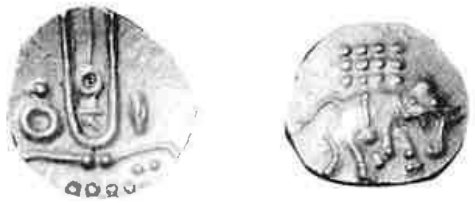
Vijayaraya

67. Copper, 3.1 gm, 17 mm, R, Puduvaidu excavations (near Tiruvannamalai). **68**. Copper, 3.15 gm, 17 mm.

Obv. Bull to right with crescent moon and sun above; dagger in front. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *vi ja / ya bu ka / ra ya.* This type is generally attributed to Bukka II, but it is probably an issue of Vijayaraya as the fabric is similar to Devaraya I's coins. Vijayaraya had also the name Vijaya Bukka by which he is known on some of the inscriptions.	

Devaraya II

69. Gold, 0.82 gm, 8 mm, R, Shimoga, Belgaum. Obv. Elephant moving to left with sun and moon above. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri de / va ra ya.*	
70. Gold, 0.85 gm, 9 mm, R, Belgaum, Shimoga. **71**. Gold, 0.85 gm, 9 mm. Obv. Elephant moving to left. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri de / va ra ya.*	
72. Gold, 0.85 gm, 9 mm, XR, Shimoga, Sagar, Belgaum. Obv. Elephant moving to right; dagger above. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri de / va ra ya.*	

73. Gold, 0.35 gm, 9 mm, XR, Shimoga. Obv. Conventionalised lion to right. Crescent-like cure above; discuss and conch on either side. Rev. Elephant to right; above four rows of four pellets.	
74. Silver, 0.02 gm, 5 mm, S, Hampi region.	
75. Silver, 0.06 gm, 7 mm, S.	
76. Silver, 0.2 gm, 9 mm, S. Obv. Elephant moving to right. Rev. In plain field, dagger to left and two-line Nagari legend *de va / ra ya*.	
77. Silver, 0.2 gm, 9 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Elephant moving to right with sword above. Rev. Dagger to left and two-line Nagari legend *de va / ra ya*.	
78. Silver, 0.2 gm, 9 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Elephant moving to left. Rev. Dagger to left and two-line Nagari legend *de va / ra ya*.	
79. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Elephant to right. Rev. Dagger with discus to right and conch to left; Kannada legend above *sri de va* below *ra ya*.	

80. Copper, 3.3 gm, 16 mm, C, Madurai, Karur. Obv. Elephant moving to right; above Kannada letter *a*. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with interlinear rules *pra ta / pa de va / ra ya*.	
81. Copper, 3.5 gm, 16 mm, S, Madurai, Karur. Obv. Elephant moving to right; above Kannada letter *a* flanked by conch and discus. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with interlinear rules *pra ta / pa de va / ra ya*.	
82. Copper, 3.2 gm, 15 mm, XR, Thanjavur. Obv. Two elephants facing each other and appear as though they are engaged in a fight; above Vaishnavite symbol flanked by conch on left and discus on right. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with interlinear rules *pra ta / pa de va / ra ya*.	
83. Copper, 2.3 gm, 17 mm, XR, Karur. Obv. Elephant and a bull (?) facing each other, their joint face is shown; above Vaishnavite symbol (?) flanked by conch on left and discus on right. Rev. A dagger in the center and the left and right field being: **Left** — Moon; (Nagari) *sri*; *ta pa*; *ra* **Right** — Sun; *pra*; *de va*; *ya*	

84. Copper, 3.4 gm, 16 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Elephant moving to right; above dagger flanked by conch and discus. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *ga ja ve / te ka ra sri / de va ra ya.*	
85. Copper, 3.4 gm, 16 mm, R, Karur. **86.** Copper, 3.4 gm, 16 mm. Obv. Elephant moving to left; conch and discus above. Rev. Dagger flanked by sun and moon. Below Kannada legend in two lines *ga ja be / te ka ra.*	
87. Copper, 3.5 gm, XR, 16 mm, Karur. Obv. Elephant moving to right; unclear symbols above. Rev. Kannada legend in two lines *ga ja be / te ka ra.*	
88. Copper, 3.6 gm, 17 mm, S, Karur. Obv. Elephant moving to right holding in its trunk a sword. Above Nagari letter '*de*' reversed and a conch. Rev. Four line with interlinear rules: the first three being Nagari legend *ra ya / ga ja ga(n) da / bh(e) ru(n) da.* In place of the fourth line is the royal sword.	

89. Copper, 3.6 gm, 17 mm, S, Karur, Thanjavur. Obv. Elephant moving to right with uplifted tail. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *ra ya ga / ja ga(n) da bh(e) / ru(n) da.*	
90. Copper, 3.9 gm, 18 mm, S, Karur, Thanjavur. Obv. Elephant carrying a Royal sword with sun and moon and Kannada *de* above. Rev. The first three lines being Nagari legend *ra ya / ga ja ga(n) da / bh(e) ru(n) da.* In place of fourth line is the sun.	
91. Copper, 3.8 gm, 17 mm, S. Obv. Elephant carrying a Royal sword with sun and moon and Kannada *de* above. Rev. In the first line is sun and moon the rest three lines being Nagari legend *ra ya ga / ja ga(n) da bh(e) / ru(n) da.*	
92. Copper, 3.1 gm, 15 mm, S. Obv. Elephant with uplifted trunk moving to right, with a dagger in front and sun and moon above. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *ra ya ga / ja ga(n) da bh(e) / ru(n) da.*	
93. Copper, 3.5 gm, 16 mm, S. Obv. Elephant moving to right with a sword and Kannada letter *de* above. Rev. Three line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *ra ya ga / ja ga(n) da bh(e) / ru(n) da.*	

94. Copper, 3.8 gm, 17 mm, R, Karur.

Obv. King, wearing short helmet, a large knot of long hair to left side and loin cloth, and holding with both hands a forked spear, runs to left facing a tusker elephant which is stopping short while running to right with lifted tail and trunk. Above two Nagari letters *de* and reversed *de*.

Rev. In circle of dots, four line with interlinear rules; the first three lines being Nagari legend *ra ya ga / ja ga(n) da bh(e) / ru(n) da*. In the fourth line is a conch between sun and moon.

95. Copper, 3.3 gm, 16 mm, R.

Obv. Elephant moving to left.

Rev. In three lines the first and third line being the Kannada legend *ga ja be / - ra ya*. In the second line, a dagger flanked by sun to the left and moon to the right.

96. Copper, 4.4 gm, 16 mm, R, Udupi.

Obv. Elephant moving to right.

Rev. Three line Nagari legend - / *ra ya ga ja be / te ka ra*.

97. Copper, 3.4 gm, 14 mm, S, Sirsi.

Obv. Elephant moving to left.

Rev. Rude Nagari legend in two lines *de va / ra ya*.

98. Copper, 3.4 gm, 14 mm, S, Shimoga.

Obv. Elephant moving to left; dagger above, sun in front.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya*.

99. Copper, 3.3 gm, 12 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Elephant moving to left; a sword, sun and moon above. Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend in three lines *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya*.	
100. Copper, 5.5 gm, 15 mm, R, Hampi region. **101**. Copper, 5.4 gm, 15 mm. Obv. Elephant moving to left; dagger, sun and moon above. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri pa / rau dha de va / ra ya*.	
102. Copper, 2.9 gm, 12 mm, R, Belgaum. **103**. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated as in gold coins. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa de va / ra ya*.	

Mallikarjuna

104. Silver, 0.15 gm, 5 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Humped bull to left; crescent moon and sun above. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *ma li / ka ju na / ra ya*.	

105. Silver, 0.2 gm, 7 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Humped bull to left; crescent moon and sun above. Rev. A dagger to left and three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *ma li / ka ju na / ra ya.*	
106. Copper, 3.5 gm, 16 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Elephant moving to left with lifted tail. Kannada letter *ni* above. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend *ma li / ka ju na ra / ya ru.*	
107. Copper, 3.5 gm, 16 mm, XR, Tiruchengode. Obv. Elephant to right with lifted tail. Kannada letter *ni* above. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend *ma li / ka ju na ra / ya ru.*	
108. Copper, 3.6 gm, 16 mm, R, Coimbatore. Obv. Elephant to left with lifted tail. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend *ya ma / di de va / ra ya;* below the legend is a sword.	

Viranarasimha

109. Copper, 3.0 gm, 14 mm, S, Shimoga. Obv. Lord Narasimha. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *na ra / si mha.*	

Krishnadevaraya

110. Gold, 7.65 gm, 19 mm, XR, Tirupati.

Obv. Lord Venkateswara standing to front. The right back hand holds the discus and the left the conch. The right front hand is in the *danamudra* and the left on his hip. Above the image of the Lord is an ornamented *tarana* or arch with a lion face at the keystone supported by two *makaras*. The arch is supported by two ornamental star-shaped pillars, the lower parts of which are covered by planks.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with rule between the lines *sri / kra shna ra / ya*.

The coin was probably issued during the *kanakabhisheka* of the Lord Venkateswara on his victories over Kondavidu and Orissa.

111. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, C, Chitradurga, Shimoga, Sagar, Bellary.

112. Gold, 1.7 gm, 10mm, C.

113. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, C.

114. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, C.

Obv. The divine baby Balakrishna seated on seat, with one knee bent and resting on seat and the other raised up and supporting the left arm which is stretched out at ease. The right hand holds a lump of butter. In field to right is a conch and to left a discus.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa kra shna / ra ya*.

Several minor variations on the obverse design exist. These types were also issued by the chiefs of Chitradurga and Rayadurga and other up-country Palegars.

115. Copper, 1.8 gm, 13 mm, S, Karur, Coimbatore, Tirucoilur.

116. Copper, 2.6 gm, 13 mm, C.

117. Copper, 3.6 gm, 14 mm, C.

118. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, C.

Obv. Bull to left with crescent moon and sun above.

Rev. In the middle a conventionalized sword looking like an arrow flanked by discus and conch, with two-line Kannada legend above and below *sri kri shna / ra ya*.

119. Copper, 3.6 gm, 13 mm, S, Karur.

Obv. Bull to right with crescent moon and sun above.

Rev. In the middle a conventionalized sword looking like an arrow flanked by discus and conch, with two-line Kannada legend above and below *sri kri shna / ra ya*.

120. Copper, 3.9 gm, 14 mm, S, Karur.

Obv. Bull to left with crescent moon and sun above; dagger in front.

Rev. In the middle a conventionalized sword looking like an arrow flanked by discus and conch, with two-line Kannada legend above and below *sri kri shna / ra ya*.

121. Copper, 2.2 gm, 14 mm, R, Shimoga. **122**. Copper, 3.0 gm, 14 mm. Obv. Bull to left with crescent moon and sun above. Rev. Nagari legend in three lines with rules in between *sri pra ta / pa kra shna / ra ya*.	
123. Copper, 3.1 gm, 10 mm, R, Belgaum. Obv. Elephant to left with a dagger above. Rev. Nagari legend in three lines with rules in between (*sri pra*) / (*ta*) *pa ka shna* / (*ra*) *ya*.	
124. Copper, 2.3 gm, 11 mm, R, Belgaum. Obv. Elephant to left. Rev. Nagari legend in three lines with rules in between (*sri pra*) / *ta pa ka shna / ra ya*.	
125. Copper, 2.2 gm, 15 mm, C, Karur. **126**. Copper, 2.5 gm, 16 mm, C, Hampi region. **127**. Copper, 3.0 gm, 14 mm, C, Hampi region.	

128. Copper, 7.0 gm, 17 mm, S, Hampi region.

129. Copper, 10.8 gm, 18 mm, S, Hampi region.

130. Copper, 11.5 gm, 22 mm, S, Hampi region.

131. Copper, 16.5 gm, 22 mm, C, Hampi region.

Obv. Garuda to left with beaked face wearing tall *kirita* or crown, hands joined in breast in the attitude of devotion. He kneels on his knee with the right foot on the ground in the *virasana* or heroic posture. Small wings are spread out behind the arms. Conch and discus in field near head.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri pra / ta pa ka shna / ra ya.*

132. Copper, 2.0 gm, 13 mm, S, Hampi region.

133. Copper, 2.1 gm, 13 mm, S.

Obv. Garuda to right in the *virasana* or heroic posture, hands joined on breast in the attitude of devotion.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa ka shna / ra ya.*

134. Copper, 4.0 gm, 13 mm, XR, Shimoga.

Obv. Garuda in *virasana* posture, hands joined on breast in the attitude of devotion.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri / ka shna ra / ya*.

135. Copper, 10.0 gm, 20 mm, XR, Hampi.

Obv. Garuda seated in *padmasana* pose.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa ka shna / ra ya*.

136. Copper, 2.9 gm, 13 mm, XR, Karur.

Obv. Within a *prabhavali,* a deity standing (or dancing?) with right hand near the hip (holding butter?) and the left hand is stretched (holding serpent?). Since parts of the image has gone out of the flan of the coin, the deity may be doubtfully taken as either dancing Krishna or Narayana; in the field on the left a conch is visible.

Rev. In the middle a conventionalized sword, with two-line Kannada legend above and below *sri kri shna / ra ya*.

Achyutaraya

137. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, S, Sirsi, Chitradurga, Shimoga.

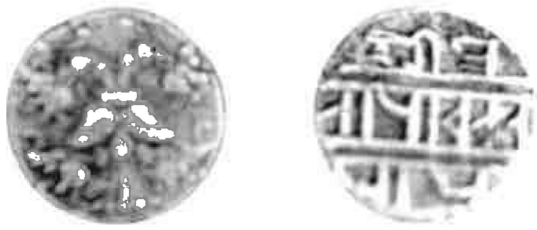
138. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm.

139. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, S.

140. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Back view of Gandabherunda or double-headed eagle flying upward wearing ornaments. The huge bird is flying upward carrying in each of its two beaks and two claws a full grown tusker elephant.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa chyu ta / ra ya*.



141. Gold, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, S, Shimoga.

Obv. Gandabherunda moving to left; profile of the bird is presented. The bird is carrying in each of its two beaks and two claws a full grown tusker elephant.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa chyu ta / ra ya*.

142. Copper, 0.9 gm, 10 mm, R, Hampi region, Shimoga, Sagar, Bellary.

143. Copper, 3.0 gm, 12 mm, S.

144. Copper, 3.3 gm, 14 mm, S.

145. Copper, 5.7 gm, 16 mm, R.

146. Copper, 8.2 gm, 17 mm, R.

147. Copper, 10.7 gm, 19 mm, S.

148. Copper, 15.6 gm, 22 mm, S.

Obv. Back view of Gandabherunda flying upward. The bird is carrying in each of its two beaks and two claws a full grown elephant.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa chyu ta / ra ya*.

149. Copper, 1.0 gm, 10 mm, R, Hampi region, Shimoga, Sagar.

150. Copper, 3.5 gm, 13 mm, R.

Obv. Gandabherunda moving to left; profile of the bird is presented. The bird is carrying in each of its two beaks and two claws a full grown elephant.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa chyu ta / ra ya*.

151. Copper, 1.2 gm, 10 mm, S, Hampi region.	
152. Copper, 3.5 gm, 13 mm, S.	
153. Copper, 3.7 gm, 13 mm, S. Obv. Elephant to left. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa chyu ta / ra ya.*	
154. Copper, 3.3 gm, 13 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Elephant to left; dagger above. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa chyu ta / ra ya.*	
155. Copper, 9.2 gm, 16 mm, XR, Sirsi. Obv: Elephant to left; above a lion with front two legs raised and rear legs resting on the back of the elephant. Rev: Nagari legend in three lines restored as *sri pra ta / pa chyu ta / ra ya.*	

Sadasivaraya

156. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, S, Shimoga.	

157. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Vishnu and Lakshmi seated on a raised seat. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra ta / pa sa da si / va ra ya*.	
158. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, R, Belgaum. Obv. Vishnu seated in *padmasana* with his consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. The God holds on one right hand the discus and in one left hand the conch. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri sa / da si va ra / ya ru*.	
159. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, R, Belgaum. Obv. Vishnu seated in *padmasana* with his consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. The God holds on one right hand the discus and in one left hand the conch. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri sa da / si va ra / ya ru*.	
160. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, R. Obv. Lord Siva with Parvati seated on a raised seat. The Lord holds *damaru* on his right hand. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa si / va ra ya*.	

161. Gold, 0.4 gm, 7 mm, R, Hampi. Obv. God and Goddess seated. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sa da / si va / ra ya.*	
162. Copper, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, R, Hampi region. **163**. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm, R.	
164. Copper, 7.0 gm, 17 mm, R. **165**. Copper, 15.4 gm, 22 mm, S. **166**. Copper, 16.4 gm, 23 mm, S. Obv. Garuda to left, hands joined in breast in the attitude of devotion. He kneels on his knee with the right foot on the ground in the *virasana* or heroic posture; conch and discus in the field near head. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri sa da /si va ra / ya ru.* Arrangements of the legend may be different.	
167. Copper, 1.8 gm, 10 mm, S, Hampi region. Obv. Garuda seated in *padmasana* with folded hands. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra / ta pa sa da si / va ra ya.*	
168. Copper, 1.5 gm, 11 mm, R, Hampi region, Sirsi.	

169. Copper, 7.0 gm, 17 mm, R. **170**. Copper, 15.6 gm, 21 mm, S. Obv. Garuda standing with hands joined on the breast in an attitude of devotion. Sword below; conch and discus on either side of head. Unclear legend (?) at bottom left. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra ta / pa si va / ra ya* or *sri sa / da si va / ra ya.*	
171. Copper, 7.9 gm, 18 mm, R, Hampi region, Sirsi. **172**. Copper, 15.2 gm, 21 mm, S. Obv. Crudely executed Garuda standing; conch and discus on either side of head. Unclear object at bottom left. Rev. Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri pra ta / pa si va / ra ya* or *sri sa / da si va / ra ya.*	
173. Copper, 3.4 gm, 13 mm, R. Obv. Garuda standing with hands joined. Rev. Three-line with interlinear rules; the first being sun and moon; the next two lines being Nagari legend *sa da si va / (ra ya).*	
174. Copper, 2.4 gm, 13 mm, S, Hampi region. Obv. Elephant to left; sword above. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri sa / da si va ra / ya.*	

175. Copper, 6.0 gm, 17 mm, XR, Hampi region. Obv. In a plain field above a ladder like object, a Sivalinga on left and a big couchant bull on right. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules (*sri*) / (*sa*) *da si va* / *ra ya*.	
176. Copper, 2.8 gm, 12 mm, R, Hampi. Obv. Deity (?) seated with right hand holding an instrument and left hand resting on left leg which is raised up. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri sa* / *da si va* / *ra ya*.	
177. Copper, 2.1 gm, 13 mm, R, Thanjavur, Madurai. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated on a raised seat. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sa da* / *si va ra* / *ya*.	
178. Copper, 1.6 gm, 11 mm, S, Hampi region. Obv. Garuda moving left. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri pra ta* / *pa sa da si* / *va ra ya*.	

Ramaraya

179. Copper, 2.7 gm, 13 mm, XR, Hampi. Obv. Within a circle of dots, Lord Venkateswara standing facing front. Rev. Three-line Nagari and Kannada legend with interlinear rules (*sri*) / *ra ma* / *ra ya*.	

Venkatadri

180. Copper, 5.8 gm, 17 mm, R, Hampi region.

Obv. Garuda to left in *virasana* pose, hands joined on breast in attitude of devotion.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules (*sri*) / *ve m ka (ta)* / (*dri*).

181. Copper, 8.5 gm, 17 mm, XR, Hampi region.

182. Copper, 16.2 gm, 20 mm, XR.

Obv. Gandabherunda carrying four elephants on its beaks and claws.

Rev. Nagari legend in three lines with interlinear rules ... / *ve m ka ta* / *ka .. dri* / *ra ya*.

183. Copper, 8.1 gm, 17 mm, R, Hampi region.

184. Copper, 8 gm, 16 mm.

Obv. In a plain field, Hanuman seated in *padmasana*; the tail is curved near the head. The face is turned to his left.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri ve* / *ka ta dri* / *ra ya*.

185. Copper, 16.9 gm, 21 mm, Hampi region. Obv. Bull moving left. Rev. Legend …./ *ve m ka ta d(r)i / ra ya*; *vemkatadri* is in Kannada and *raya* is in Nagari.	
186. Copper, 11.9 gm, 20 mm, S, Hampi region.	
187. Copper, 12.0 gm, 20 mm, S, Hampi region. Obv. Garuda kneeling to left in *virasana* pose with hands joined. Rev. Legend *ra ma ra ja / ve m ka ta d(r)i / ra ya*.	
188. Copper, 11.9 gm, 20 mm, XR, Hampi region. Similar to the previous coin but the coin is countermarked on both sides. On the obverse, the countermark symbol is similar to the one seen on Adil Shahi's gold coins.	
189. Copper, 13.2 gm, 20 mm, R, Hampi region. **190**. Copper, 13.3 gm, 20 mm. Obv. Crudely executed Garuda seated in *padmasana* with head turned to his right.	

Rev. Within an ornamental square legend with interlinear rules *sri pa / ra ma ra ja / ve m ka ta d(r)i / ra ya*; the legend on first and last line are in Nagari while the second and third line are in Kannada.	
191. Copper, 10.4 gm, 20 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Garuda seated with his left leg folded and right leg brought down (*sukhasana* posture). Rev. Within an ornamental square legend with interlinear rules *sri pa / ra ma ra ja / ve m ka ta d(r)i / ra ya*; the legend on first and last line are in Nagari while the second and third line are in Kannada.	
192. Copper, 11.5 gm, 20 mm, XR, Hampi region. Obv. Twin headed (Hanuman and Garuda ?) deity seated in *padmasana*. Rev. Within an ornamental square legend with interlinear rules *sri pa / ra ma ra ja / ve m ka ta d(r)i / ra ya*; the legend on first and last line are in Nagari while the second and third line are in Kannada.	

Venkatadri and Tirumala

193. Copper, 9.7 gm, 18 mm, R. Hampi region.	

194. Copper, 13.2 gm, 19 mm, R.

195. Copper, 13.6 gm, 19 mm, R.

Obv. Garuda seated with his left leg folded and right leg brought down (*sukhasana* posture).

Rev. Kannada legend *ra ma ra ja / ti ru ma la ra ja / ve m ka ta d(r)i.*

Other denomination 6.2 gm, 15 mm, R.

196. Copper, 13.2 gm, 18 mm, R.

Obv. Garuda in *sukhasana* posture.

Rev. Kannada legend *(ra ma ra ja) / ti ru ma la ra / ja ve m ka ta (dri).*

197. Copper, 12.6 gm, 20 mm, R, Hampi region.

198. Copper, 13.4 gm, 20 mm.

Obv. Garuda in *sukhasana* posture.

Rev. Legend *sri pa / ra ma ra ja / ti m ma ra ja / ve m ka ta d(r)i / ra ya; sripa* and *raya* are in Nagari and rest in Kannada.

Tirumalaraya

199. Gold, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, S, Shimoga.

200. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, R.

201. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, R.

Obv. On raised seat meant to be a throne, Sri Rama is seated wearing tall crown or *kirita*, with Sita seated by his side to the left and Lakshmana standing behind the throne to his right. Lakshmana has strung bow on his right shoulder and his hands are joined in devotion. Rama's right hand is in *abhayamudra* or attitude of reassurance.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri ti / ru ma la ra / ya lu.*

202. Copper, 10.2 gm, 18 mm, XR, Hampi.

Obv. Couchant bull to left; a dagger in front, sun and moon above.

Rev. Three-line corrupt Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ya.*

Srirangaraya I

203. Gold.

Obv. Under ornamental arch supported by ornamental pillars, Lord Venkateswara standing facing front.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *sri ra(m) / ga ra / ya.*

The above coin is listed by M.H. Krishna. The illustration of the coin in earlier works by the author doesn't match the reading. The author has not seen this type.

204. Copper, 10.1 gm, 21 mm, XR, Hampi region.

Obv. In a linear circle, Garuda seated in *padmasana* with face turned to his right.

Rev. Within an ornamental square three-line legend with interlinear rules *sri / ra m ga ra / ya; sri* and *ya* are in Nagari while *ramgara* is in Kannada.

205. Copper, 11.9 gm, 20 mm, XR, Hampi region.

Obv. Gandabherunda carrying elephants in its beak and claws. The profile view of the bird is shown.

Rev. Within an ornamental square three-line legend with interlinear rules *sri / ra m ga ra / ya; sri* and *ya* are in Nagari while *ramgara* is in Kannada.

Venkatapatiraya II

206. Gold.

Obv. Under plain arch supported by pillars of dots, Lord Venkateswara standing front.

Rev. Three-line barbarous Nagari legend with interlinear double rules *cha la ma / ve m ka ta / ra ya*.

207. Gold.

Obv. Under ornamental arch supported by ornamental pillar, Venkateswara standing facing front.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear double rules *vi ra / ve m ka ta / ra ya*.

The above two types are described by M.H. Krishna. However the author has not seen these coins. The illustration provided by Krishna for coin 207 doesn't match his reading.

208. Copper, 5.1 gm, 16 mm, R, Hampi region.

209. Copper, 10.3 gm, 18 mm, S.

210. Copper, 10.5 gm, 20 mm, S.

Obv. Garuda to left in *virasana* pose, hands joined on breast in attitude of devotion.

Rev. Three-line legend *sri / ve m ka ta / ra ya; sri* and *raya* are in Nagari while *vemkata* is in Kannada. On smaller denominations, only *vemkata* is seen.

211. Copper, 14.2 gm, 21 mm, XR, Hampi region.

Obv. Garuda kneeling to left in *virasana* pose, hands joined on breast in attitude of devotion. Conch and discus on either side of head.

Rev. Sun and moon followed by legend *ve m ka ta / ra ya; vemkata* is in Kannada while *raya* is in Nagari.

212. Copper, 11.0 gm, 17 mm, R, Hampi region.

Obv. Garuda standing facing with hands joined.

Rev. Legend *sri pa / ve m ka ta / (ra ya); vemkata* is in Kannada and rest in Nagari.

213. Copper, 10.2 gm, 20 mm, R, Hampi region.

Obv. Garuda seated with left leg folded and right leg brought down (*sukhasana* posture).

Rev. Legend *sri / ve m ka ta / ra ya; vemkata* is in Kannada while *sri* and *raya* are in Nagari.

214. Copper, 8.3 gm, 14 mm, R, Hampi region.

215. Copper, 12.1 gm, 21 mm, R.

Obv. Gandabherunda carrying four elephants on its beaks and claws; the bird is shown flying and the back view of the bird is shown.

Rev. Legend ... / *ve m ka ta / ra ya; vemkata* is in Kannada while *raya* is in Nagari.

216. Copper, 11.9 gm, 18 mm, R, Hampi region.

217. Copper, 12 gm, 18 mm.

Obv. Narayana seated with his consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. One right hand holds discus while the other is in abhayamudra. One left hand holds the conch and the other is around his consort's waist.

Rev. Three-line legend in Nagari and Kannada with interlinear rules *sri pa / ve m ka ta / ra ya; vemkata* is in Kannada and rest in Nagari.

218. Copper, 13.6 gm, 20 mm, R, Hampi region. Obv. Couchant bull to left with sun and moon above. Rev. Three-line legend in Nagari and Kannada with interlinear rules *sri / ve m ka ta / ra ya*; *vemkata* is in Kannada and rest in Nagari.	

Srirangaraya II

219. Copper, 1.3 gm, 11 mm, C. Obv. Bull couchant to right. Rev. Telugu legend *che ka ra / ya lu*.	
220. Copper, 1.5 gm, 12 mm, C. Obv. Bull couchant to right; in the field above, sun and moon. Rev. Telugu legend *che ka ra / ya lu*.	
221. Copper, 1.5 gm, 12 mm, C. Obv. Bull couchant to right; in the field above, sun and moon. Rev. In an ornamental square, Telugu legend with interlinear rule *che ka ra / ya lu*.	

Venkatapatiraya III

222. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, S. Obv. Lord Venkateswara with Sridevi on right and Bhudevi on left. Rev. Blank.	

Srirangaraya III

223. Gold, 0.3 gm, 7 mm, XR.

Obv. Obverse as in Viraraya fanam but highly stylized.

Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *sri ra mga / ra ya ru*.

Venkatapati Pagodas

224. Gold, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, S, Tadapatri.

225. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, R.

226. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, S.

227. Gold, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, S.

Obv. Under arch, Venkateswara standing to front.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri vem ka / te sva ra / ya na mah*.

The above coins were issued by the Aravidu rulers possibly starting from Venkatadri. Better specimens belong to rulers till Venkata II and the cruder specimens belong to later rulers.

228. Copper, 3.9 gm, 14 mm, XR. Obv. Under arch, Venkateswara standing facing front. Rev. Three-line barbarous Nagari legend restored as *sri vem ka / te sva ra / ya na mah.* The above coin is a contemporary imitation of the Venkatapati pagoda.	

References and Notes

1. M.H. Krishna, 'Numismatics - Sangama Dynasty', *MAR*, 1932, p. 76. Quotes *IA* XXV, p. 317 (Tracy's cabinet).
2. *Ibid*. Quotes IA XXV, p. 318, Pl. I, No. 3a.
3. *Ibid*., p. 81
4. *Ibid*.

8

COINS OF DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTION

In this chapter we look at some of the coins from Tamilnadu which are assigned to the Vijayanagar rulers Bukka I, Harihara II, Ramaraya (or Ramadevaraya) and Tirumalaraya. Amongst the rulers mentioned, two are rulers from Aravidu dynasty. In the opinion of the author, it is unlikely that any coins would have been issued in the name of the Vijayanagar rulers after Krishnadevaraya. The reason for this hypothesis is that post Krishnadevaraya, the nayakas of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee became powerful and were allowed to issue coins in their name. Coins of Vijayanagar rulers Achyutaraya and Sadasivaraya are not known from the region. Thus logically we should not see the coins of the rest of the rulers after Krishnadevaraya.

However the coin types described here pose problems in their precise attribution. As we will see, with the available information it is difficult to decide whether these coin types belong to the rulers to whom they are attributed and there is insufficient evidence to say that they do not belong to these rulers.

Bukka I

The following coin types were assigned to Harihara I by Mitchiner.[1] However these can only be assigned to Bukka I and even this attribution is tentative.

229. Copper, 2.6 gm, 15 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Hanuman running right. Rev. Nagari legend restored as *sri vi (ra) / bhu pati*.	

230. Copper, 2.7 gm, 16 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Hanuman running right. Rev. Nagari legend restored as *sri vi (ra) / bhu pati*.	
231. Copper, 2.3 gm, 15 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Hanuman running right. Rev. Nagari legend restored as *sri vi (ra) / bhu pati*.	

Mitchiner reads the legend on the reverse as *srivikrama* which does not appear to be correct. Also the reason for attributing coins with legend *srivikrama* to Harihara I is not clear. While the type is similar to Harihara I's Hanuman coins, the reverse legend is not *srivikrama*.

There are wide variations in the arrangement of reverse legend and deciphering these coins is a challenge. In most coins, the second letter is not *vi* but *chi*, the third letter is not *kra* but can only be restored as *bhu* (note the similarity of this letter with the legend on Bukka I's copper coin). The last letter which appears to be a compound letter and takes the form of a symbol, has been restored as *pa ti*. The letter *chi* has been restored as *vi*, thus the legend is *sri vi (ra) bhu pa ti*. However the reading is not satisfactory. The only reason for assigning this coin series to Bukka I, is the letter *bhu* which is similar to his copper coins with reverse legend *srivirabhupatiraya*. The obverse in this type (Hanuman) also matches with the coin under consideration.

One more coin type similar to above but with a bull on the obverse is attributed to Bukka I. The reverse legend was read as *srichibukka* by M.T. Karunakaran,[2] but at best the legend can be only restored as *sri vi (ra) bhu pa ti*.

232. Copper, 2.2 gm, 16 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Bull right. Rev. Nagari legend restored as *sri vi (ra) / bhu pati*.	

Harihara II

The following coin was assigned to Harihara I by Michael Mitchner.[3]

233. Copper, 2.8 gm, 16 mm, S, Madurai. Obv. Standing figure of king. Rev. Bull standing right; conch in front; Kannada *ha* above.	

This coin was attributed to Harihara I by Mitchiner. R. Nagaswamy read the letter as *cho* and assigned the coin to Chokkanatha Nayak of Madurai.[4] The letter is however *ha*. In the opinion of the author, the earliest the coin can be attributed to is to Harihara II. The fabric suggests even later period.

Other coins with different letters were assigned by the present author as follows.[5]

Letter *vi* in Nagari or *vi* in Kannada/Telugu - Veerappa Nayak of Madurai

Letter *la* in front of bull - Lakhanna Danayaka, viceroy in charge of Madurai during Devaraya II's time.

However the letter *ha* cannot be attributed to any of the Madurai Nayakas who seem to have issued the standing man-bull type coins. Thus the coin is tentatively assigned to Harihara II. However in the opinion of the author, the probable order of the standing man type coins is:

Standing man head replaced by letter *bha* (coin 303) -> standing man, letter *de* within splayed legs; attributed to Devaraya (coin 63) -> bull; above letter *ha* (coin 233) -> bull; in front letter *la* - > bull; in front letter *vi* in Telugu or Nagari -> other standing man bull types without letter. However the coin under discussion doesn't appear to confirm to this order.

Ramaraya / Ramadevaraya

Copper coins with the legend *rama ra*? and reported from central Tamilnadu were assigned to Ramaraya by Mitchiner.[6] This series was assigned to Marathas of Gingee (in particular Rajaram) by K. Ganesh.[7] In most coins the reverse legend is not seen completely and in particular the last letter is not seen. On some of the coins, the last letter is seen as *ma*, thus the complete legend being *rama rama*. However on one coin recently seen by the author, the last letter

is clearly seen as *ja*, thus the complete legend on these coins is *rama raja*. The fact that coins are seen with both the legends *rama rama* and *rama raja* cannot be disputed. It is possible that there is more than one major series; possibly three major series.

1. Coins with no legend
2. Coins with legend *rama rama*
3. Coins with legend *rama raja*

The legend *rama raja* seen on some of the coins may refer to Ramaraya since Ramaraya was known as Ramaraja in inscriptions. These coin series are issued with various devices on the obverse and many of these types are not known prior to the period under discussion. Also these coins are commonly encountered indicating that a reasonably powerful ruler/dynasty issued these coins. However, in the opinion of the author from the devices used on the coins, this series should belong to probably second half of 17th century to early 18th century AD. The variety seen on this series is similar to the variety observed in the *srivira* coins of Madurai nayaks.

It is likely that these coin series do not belong at least to one ruler. Several rulers may have issued this series as can be seen from the availability of the coins.

The coins are reported from Tirucoilur, Karur and Thanjavur. As to who could have issued these coin types, if they are really attributable to Ramaraya, there are three contenders.

1. Chevapparaya of Thanjavur, who was ruling Thanjavur at the time of Talikota war. Coins issued in the name of Chevapparaya are known but they are rare.

2. Surappa nayak of Gingee who was contemporary of Ramaraya and may have taken part in the battle at Talikota. His coins are not known.

3. Visvanatha Nayak was ruling Madurai till a year before Talikota war. Coins issued by him are known and they are scarce.

Coins of all the three nayaks without legend are known although it is difficult to assign a period to them.

All the three rulers listed previously were loyal to Vijayanagar, thus any of them could have issued the coins in the name of Ramaraya. We can however rule out Madurai nayaks since the coins are found in the area which was not in

their territory. Their coinage is also very distinct.

If it is not Ramaraya who else? It can be Vijayanagar ruler Ramadevaraya. However he was a very weak ruler and it is unlikely that coins would have been issued in his name. Ramadevaraya came to throne thanks to Raghunatha nayak of Thanjavur. It is unlikely that Raghunatha nayak would have issued these coins, as he issued several types in his name.

Another pointer is Rajaram, the Gingee Maratha ruler. Coins with legend *ramaraja* may also be read as *rajaram* pointing at him and the Marathas may have continued this issue in Thanjavur also. In fact this appears to be the most plausible.

All these are conjecture which are not supported by information other than the one stated. Thus we are constrained to accept the fact that at present we do not have sufficient information to make a precise attribution and hence this series is included here.

Series I

The coins that follow have the conventionalized dagger either with part of the legend or with no legend on the reverse.

234. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Ganesa.

235. Copper, 1.5 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. A figure to right holding conch (?) on the right hand and a bow (?) on the left hand.

236. Copper, 2.0 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Standing figure; crescent on the left field.

237. Copper, 2.1 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Garuda in virasana to left.

238. Copper, 3.2 gm, 14 mm.

Obv. Garuda in virasana to left.

239. Copper, 2.0 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Discus.

240. Copper, 1.9 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Conch.

241. Copper, 1.5 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Conch.

242. Copper, 1.8 gm, 10 mm.

Obv. Vaishnavite mark flanked by conch and discus.

243. Copper, 2.0 gm, 10 mm.

Obv. Chariot.

244. Copper, 2.1 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Bull to left.

245. Copper, 1.8 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Gandabherunda.

246. Copper, 1.7 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Gandabherunda.

247. Copper, 2.2 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Horse to left; crescent above.

248. Copper, 2.1 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Yali to left.

249. Copper, 2.2 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Bull and elephant facing each other; combined face is shown.

250. Copper, 2.3 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Bull and elephant facing each other; combined face is shown.

251. Copper, 3.4 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Figure with human face and lion/tiger body to left (Vygrapadha?).

252. Copper, 2.1 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Yali (?) to left.

253. Copper, 1.8 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Peacock looking back right.

254. Copper, 3.0 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Peacock looking back left.

255. Copper, 1.7 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Ganesa with lion body.

256. Copper, 1.4 gm, 10 mm.

Obv. Figure resembling couchant bull left.

257. Copper, 2.4 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Uncertain.

258. Copper, 1.9 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Boar to left.

259. Copper, 1.7 gm, 10 mm.

Obv. Standing king as in Chola coins.

260. Copper, 2.6 gm, 10 mm.

Obv. Half swan Sarasvati.

261. Copper, 2.7 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Fish.

262. Copper, 2.3 gm, 10 mm.

Obv. Elephant to left.

263. Copper, 2.9 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Couchant bull to left; a dagger in front.

264. Copper, 2.3 gm, 12 mm.

Obv. Ship.

265. Copper, 2.1 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Crab.

266. Copper, 2.7 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Durga on lion right.

267. Copper, 2.3 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Rama *pattabhisheka*.

268. Copper, 1.8 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Flag on pole flanked by sun and moon.

269. Copper, 2.3 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Drummer.

Series II

The coins that follow have the conventionalized dagger flanked by Nagari legend *rama rama*.

270. Copper, 2.6 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Ganesa.

271. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. God and Goddess.

272. Copper, 2.1 gm, 11 mm.

Obv. Horse to right.

Series III

The coins that follow have the conventionalized dagger flanked by Nagari legend *rama raja*.

273. Copper, 3.2 gm, 15 mm.

Obv. Bull to left.

274. Copper, 3.0 gm, 15 mm.

Obv. Bull to left.

252	253	254
255	256	257
258	259	260
261	262	263
264	265	266
267	268	269
270	271	272
273	274	

Tirumalaraya

Coins with legend read as *sri tirumalaraya, sri chalama tirumalaraya* and *(cha)lamaraya* were assigned by various authors including M.H. Krishna, A.V. Narasimhamurthy, K. Ganesh and Girijapathy and Michael Mitchiner to Tirumalaraya. These coins are re-examined here.

These coin types fall into five series.

Series 1

Type	Devices on the obverse
I. Coins with Nagari legend on the reverse, earlier read as *cha la ma / ti ru ma / la ra ya,* the actual legend seen on the coin being *ra la va / ti ru ma / la ra ja.*	*Varaha* moving right with dagger and sun on top.
II. Similar.	*Varaha* moving left with dagger and sun on top.

Series 2

Type	Devices on the obverse
I. Coins with corrupt Nagari legend on the reverse (some characters resembling Kannada and Tamil characters) restored as *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ja.*	*Varaha* moving right with dagger and sun on top.
II. Similar.	Dagger with garland.

Series 3

Type	Devices on the obverse
I. Coins with Telugu legend *ti ru ma / la ra ju* on the reverse.	*Varaha* moving left with dagger in front and sun and moon on top.
II. Similar.	*Varaha* moving right with dagger in front and sun and moon on top.

Series 4

Type	Devices on the obverse
I. Coins with Nagari legend *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ja* on the reverse.	Dagger flanked by conch and discus.
II. Similar.	Lakshmi seated with dagger in the left field.
III. Similar (on most specimens the letters *la* and *ma* are inverted).	Garuda with dagger in front.

Series 5

Type	Devices on the obverse
I. Nagari legend on the reverse restored as (*cha*) *la ma / ra ja* but actual reading is *sri ti / ru* followed by *la ma / ra ja* with a dagger placed facing down between the letters *la ra* and *ma ja*.	Conch, discus, sun and moon.
II. Nagari legend *sri ti / ru* followed by *la ma / ra ja*; conch and discus.	Garuda and Hanuman kneeling facing each other with dagger in the middle.
III. Three line Nagari legend *sri ti / ru la ma / ra ja*.	Elephant moving left with dagger in front with sun and moon on top.
IV. Nagari legend *sri ti / ru* followed by *la ma / ra ja*; conch and discus.	Bull left with dagger in front with sun and moon on top.

The classification proposed above is author's inference drawn from examining various coins. A close examination of the reverse legend of the first series shows that the reverse legend is actually *ralava / tirumala / raja*. This coin was read in earlier works as *chalama / tirumala / raya* and attributed to Vijayanagar king Tirumalaraya. The meaning or satisfactory explanation of the word *chalama* has so far not been provided, although it has been suggested that it may mean *Saluva*.[8] The legend on several coins examined by the author appears to be *ralava / tirumala / raja*. The meaning of *ralava* is not clear. A. Seetharaman read the legend on series 1 as *saluvatirumalaraja*.

Series 2 is characterized by a Nagari legend having influence of Kannada and Tamil. The *ma* appears like Kannada *ma* while *la* appears as Tamil *la*. While series 4 does not provide any challenge in terms of reading as *sritirumalaraja*, Seetharaman reads the legend on series 5 described above as *srisaluvaraja*. However the actual legend is *sritirulamaraja*. In this series *sri ti ru* are stylized and *la ma* have exchanged places. Thus the whole legend can only be read as *sritirumalaraja*. This is the only way we can read this coin and such exchange of places as well as reversal of letters were not uncommon in these types possibly due to illiterate die cutters. We can also see natural progression in the stylization of letters *sri ti ru*, although its significance is not clear. Seetharaman doesn't discuss series 3. The coin series 1, 2, 4 and 5 were assigned by him to Tirumalairaja who ruled Karaikal and Thanjavur region during AD 1452 and 1458 as a feudatory of Vijayanagar empire. He is supposed to belong to *Saluva* family.[9] The period corresponds to the rule of Sangama ruler Virupaksha II.[10]

Series 1, 2 and 3 are characterized by having *Varaha* on the obverse, while series 4 and 5 have various devices other than *Varaha*. The only thing that is common across all the type is the presence of dagger. The similarity of the dagger to those found in Konerirayan coins is striking. We have a type in Konerirayan issue where the dagger is placed facing down between the legend.

The legend on the series 3 is peculiar. In the type with *Varaha* moving to left, the legend is *tirumalaraju* and not *tirumalaraya* or *tirumalaraja*.[11] In the type with *Varaha* moving to right, the legend is *tirumalaju*. Although there is enough space to accommodate the letter *ra*, the same is omitted or possibly combined(?) with letter *la*. On some specimens the first letter in the second line appears as *a*, which has made some scholars to read the legend starting from bottom as *a chyu* (instead of *ju*) and continue reading the top line as *ta ra ya* and attribute the coin to be an issue of Achyutaraya.[12]

From the palaeography and the devices used, the series do not belong to one ruler. The progression of period appears to be from series 1 to 5, series 1 being definitely earlier to series 5. These possibly were also minted at different places.

According to Vijayakumar, a numismatist from Tiruchengode, these coins are found at Toraiyur and some coins are observed at Thanjavur. According to Mitchiner, these coins circulated in central Tamilnadu. Most of the coins reported by him are from Tirucoilur and Karur and according to him the coins circulated mostly in south Arcot district while stray finds were found at Thanjavur.[13] He also believes that the series 1, 2, 4 and 5 (he doesn't discuss series 3) belong to different periods. In his opinion, the coins were issued by Tirumalaraya and his successors Srirangaraya I and Venkata II.

Even assuming that the reading of the first series is *salavatirumalaraja* (by assuming that the first letter *ra* is the corrupt form of *sa* and that all the die cutters made this mistake) and assuming that the coins were issued by Tirumalairaja who ruled Karaikal and Thanjavur region during AD 1452 and 1458, still there is an issue in the assignment of the rest of the series. It is definite that the rest of the series are not his issues, as the palaeography and fabric suggests different time periods.

While it is more likely that kings having the name Tirumala issued the coins, the problem we face is that we have many kings who called themselves as Tirumala during the time period under consideration. This includes Tirumalai nayakkar, the famous nayaka of Madurai and the possible attribution to him of the latter series cannot be ruled out as he chased Mysore to their territory. Very few types of his coinage are known which is not in line with

the power he exercised. Other nayakas with the name Tirumala and ruling South Arcot district and Tiruchirapalli district include Tirumalai nayaka whose inscriptions are found in Tiruvakkarai, Tindivanam and Kandadu during 1512-1525, Tirumalai nayaka, master of Mrittinjaya nayaka, whose inscriptions are found at Kugaiyur during 1524 and Tirumalai nayaka son of Visvanatha nayaka whose inscriptions are found at Srirangam during 1536-1538.[14] Ofcourse we cannot rule out Vijayanagar king Tirumalaraya who could have issued some of these series when he was the Governor of the Tamil country and the suggestion of Mitchiner that these coins were continued to be issued in the name of Tirumalaraya during the period of Sriranga I and Venkata II.

With the available information, we are not in a position to identify the issuer(s) of these coins and hence these are included here.

Series I

275. Copper, 3.6 gm, 16 mm, S.

Obv. Boar charging to right; in the field above a dagger and sun.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *ra la va / ti ru ma / la ra ja.*

276. Copper, 3.7 gm, 16 mm, R.

Obv. Boar charging to left; in the field above a dagger and sun.

Rev. Three-line Nagari legend with interlinear rules *ra la va / ti ru ma / la ra ja.*

Series II

277. Copper, 3.6 gm, 16 mm, C.

Obv. Boar charging to right with lifted tail and bristles on back standing on end. In field above, dagger and sun.

Rev. Corrupt three-line legend in Nagari characters some resembling Kannada and Tamil characters with interlinear rules *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ja.*

278. Copper, 3.6 gm, 15 mm, C. Obv. Dagger in center with a garland around it. Rev. Corrupt three-line legend in Nagari characters some resembling Kannada and Tamil characters with interlinear rules *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ja*.	

Series III

279. Copper, 2.5 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Boar to right; a dagger in front; sun and moon above. Rev. Corrupt two-line Telugu legend *ti ru ma / la (ra) ju*.	
280. Copper, 2.3 gm, 13 mm, S. Obv. Boar to left; a dagger in front; sun and moon above. Rev. Corrupt two-line Telugu legend *ti ru ma / la ra ju*.	

Series IV

281. Copper, 3.6 gm, 14 mm, S. Obv. Dagger in the centre with discus to left and conch to right. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ja*.	
282. Copper, 2.9 gm, 16 mm, C. **283**. Copper, 3.0 gm, 16 mm. Obv. Garuda kneeling to left with a dagger in front and conch and discus	

on either sides of head. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ja.* In most specimens the *la* and *ma* are inverted.	
284. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, R. Obv. Lakshmi seated in *sukhasana* pose; dagger in the left field. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri ti / ru ma la / ra ja.*	

Series V

285. Copper, 3.5 gm, 15 mm, C. Obv. Elephant to left with sun and moon above and dagger in front. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri ti / ru la ma / ra ja.*	
286. Copper, 3.5 gm, 15 mm, C. Obv. Conch left and discus right, with crescent moon above and sun below. Rev. Dagger in center and on both sides of it three-line Nagari legend *sri ti / ru la ma / ra ja.*	
287. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, S. Obv. Bull standing to left; a dagger in front, sun and moon above. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ti / ru la ma / ra ja.* In the field in the middle between the two lines a discus, Vaishnavite mark and conch. Minor variations exist in the reverse legend arrangement.	

288. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, C. Obv. Garuda and Hanuman facing each other with a dagger in the centre. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ti / ru la ma / ra ja*. In the field in the middle a discus, Vaishnavite mark and conch. Minor variations exist in the reverse legend arrangement.	

References and Notes

1. Michael Mitchiner, *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, Part Two, Hawkins Publications, London, 1998, p. 170, coin 477-491.
2. M.T. Karunakaran, 'Bull Type Coin of Bukka I', *MCSSB*, Vol. VIII, pp. 37-39.
3. Michael Mitchiner, *op.cit.*, p. 171.
4. R. Nagaswamy, *Tamil Coins*, Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, 1981, p. 171.
5. K. Ganesh, *The Coins of Tamilnadu*, Bangalore, 2002, pp. 177-180.
6. Michael Mitchiner, *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, Part One, Hawkins Publications, London, 1998, pp. 186-188.
7. K. Ganesh, *op.cit.*, pp. 155-165.
8. *MAR*, 1931, p. 76.
9. A. Seetharaman, *Kasu Iyal* (Tamil), Thanjavur, 2005, pp. 12-17.
10. K. Subramanian, *Koneririyan* (Tamil), Thanjavur, 2001, p.11. Mentions that Saluva Tirumalai Raja as a feudatory of Vijayanagar was ruling Chola mandala. His inscriptions are found at Pattisvaram, Papanasam during the period AD 1452-1458 - *ARE* 524 of 1920, *ARE* 527 of 1920 and *ARE* 448 of 1922. His rule was followed by Koneririyan who ruled the region for about 25 years first as feudatory of Praudadevaraya and later as an independent Sovereign. Koneririyan's coins are well known and discussed later.

However the present author found that at the temples at Papanasam, immediately after the inscription of Saluva Tirumalai Raja there are inscriptions of Chikka Bokkana nayaka (*ARE* 449 of 1922) and Malarasa nayaka (*ARE* 451 of 1922). It is not clear as to the status of these two nayaks vis-à-vis Saluva Tirumalai Raja.

11. M.T. Karunakaran,'Thirumalaraya's Boar Type Coins - A Fresh Reading of the Legend', *MCSSB*, Vol. VIII, pp. 42-45. The fact that the reading of the last letter is *ju* and not *ya* was pointed out in this paper.
12. A.V. Narasimha Murthy, P. Kundanmal Jain, 'An Enigmatic Coin of Achyutharaya', *JNSI*, Vol. LVIII, 1996, pp. 52-53.
13. Michael Mitchiner, Part Two, *op.cit.*, pp. 198-200.
14. Noboru Karashima, *A Concordance of Nayakas*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 183-184.

9

COINS NOT ASSIGNABLE TO VIJAYANAGAR RULERS

Several authors including the present author have attributed certain coins to Vijayanagar rulers in their work, which in the opinion of the author is not correct. The reason why the author feels that attribution of these coins to Vijayanagar is incorrect is also stated.

Assigning certain tara series to Vijayanagar rulers

Tara series containing obverse similar to Viraraya pana with Kannada numeral on the reverse are stated as belonging to the Vijayanagar rulers by some authors.[1-6] In these series the coins with Nagari or Grantha *ba* is assigned to Bukka I. It should be noted that the silver coins of Bukka have the letter *bu* and not *ba*. Further Grantha was never used by the Vijayanagar rulers on their coins. Others have attributed silver coin types not belonging to Vijayanagar as belonging to Vijayanagar.[7]

The attribution of the silver coins similar to the Virarayi hana to Hoysalas was first made by Ganesh and Girijapathy.[8] The silver coins resemble the popular tara issues of the Vijayanagar. However the silver coins of the Hoysalas have the maned lion on the obverse with *Virarekha* on its back. On the reverse we generally find either:

- Kannada numerals (possibly indicating the denomination)
- Animals and other symbols
- Single letter in Kannada or Grantha or Nagari
- Combination of the above

The attribution of these taras to Hoysalas is based on the fact that

- The obverse is similar to that of the Hoysala hana

- The coins show a marked contrast to the Vijayanagar issues which are known and contain the names of the issuer. Hence these are the issues of the Hoysalas.
- The occurrence of single letter either in Kannada or Grantha or Nagari suggest that the issues were meant for both Kannada and Tamil country. The letter observed can clearly be linked to a Hoysala emperor - *bi* for Bittideva, *ba* for Ballala and *so* for Somesvara.
- The devices used on the coins such as anthropoid Gandabherunda are found on the inscriptions of the Hoysalas.
- These coins are found in the erstwhile Dwarasamudra region (Mitchiner calls this Dorasamudra series).

All these point to the fact that these silver coins are definitely the issues of the Hoysalas and not Vijayanagar rulers.

It should be noted that the silver tara coins assignable to Vijayanagar rulers have the name of the issuer (either as single letter or the complete name) on them. Silver taras of Sangama rulers starting from Harihara I are known. The silver taras became extinct after the rule of Mallikarjunaraya. While the Vijayanagar rulers adopted the silver coinage of Hoysalas possibly following the weight standards set by the Hoysalas, as in other metals, they ensured that their silver coinage was different from those of Hoysalas.

To drive home the point some coins from these series are described and illustrated.

289. Silver, 0.2 gm, 7 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve. Rev. Conventionalised boar with elongated snout and curled up tail to right.	
290. Silver, 0.23 gm, 8 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½.	

291. Silver, 0.26 gm, 8 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above within crescent-like curve anthropoid Gandabherunda. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½; above crescent moon.	
292. Silver, 0.27 gm, 7 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½; above anthropoid Gandabherunda.	
293. Silver, 0.06 gm, 5 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada letter *bi*.	
294. Silver, 0.26 gm, 7 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½; above Kannada letter *bi*.	
295. Silver, 0.06 gm, 5 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada letter *ba*.	

296. Silver, 0.13 gm, 6 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada numeral 1 $^{1}/_{4}$; above Kannada letter *ba*.	
297. Silver, 0.26 gm, 6 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½; above Kannada letter *ba*.	
298. Silver, 0.13 gm, 6 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada numeral 1 $^{1}/_{4}$; above Nagari letter *ba*.	
299. Silver, 0.28 gm, 8 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½; above Grantha letter *ba*.	
300. Silver, 0.23 gm, 8 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½; above Grantha letter *ba* and crescent moon.	

301. Silver, 0.26 gm, 8 mm, R, Shimoga, Belur. Obv. Lion to right; above crescent-like curve and other symbols. Rev. Kannada numeral 2 ½; above Grantha letter *ba* and an elephant.	

The above coins are definitely issues of the Hoysalas. The letter *bi* present on some of the coins may be taken to represent Bittideva (Vishnuvardhana) and the letter *ba* may be taken to represent Ballala.

Sangama

Coin with legend restored as *sangama* was assigned to Sangama.[9] The reading as well as the attribution is incorrect as can be seen from the description and illustration of the coin.

302. Copper, 2.1 gm, 13 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Animal (bull) to right. Rev. Kannada legend in two lines .. (*nga*) / *ma*.	

Except *ma* no other legend is seen both on the coins illustrated here (which is in author's collection) as well as in the coin illustrated by Mitchiner. The letter *nga* illustrated by Mitchiner cannot be restored as Kannada *nga*.

Bukka I

The following coin is attributed to Bukka I by Mitchiner.[10]

303. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Elephant moving right. Rev. Standing man; head replaced by Kannada letter *bha*.	

The letter is read as *ba* and attributed to Bukka I. It is clear that the letter *bha* cannot stand for Bukka I.

Achyutaraya

A prancing horse type is attributed to Achyutaraya by Desikachari and Mitchiner.[11] The coin is described here.

304. Copper, 3.1 gm, 17 mm, C, Tirucoilur. Obv. Horse moving to left. Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend read by the authors as *sripratapachyutaraya*.	

While this type is assignable to the Vijayanagar period, the coins of this type are not assignable to Achyutaraya as the reverse legend in these coins is always corrupt. Coins with corrupt legend are discussed in a later chapter.

Another type with Vaishnavite symbol on the obverse and legend *achuta* on the reverse has been attributed to Achyutaraya.[12] The coin belongs to Achyutappa Nayak of Thanjavur and discussed in a later chapter.

Sadasivaraya

The following coin is attributed to Sadasivaraya by Mitchiner.[13]

305. Copper, 2.1 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Elephant right. Rev. Nagari legend *sa da / si va*.	

The attribution is not correct because.

1. The palaeography is later than the period proposed
2. The legend is *sadasiva* and not *sri sadasivaraya*

Other coins such as half-swan Sarasvati with corrupt reverse legend are also attributed to Sadasivaraya. While these coins are assignable to Vijayanagar period, these are not assignable to a specific ruler, as the legend in coins of these types is always corrupt.[14]

Venkata II

Coins with legend *vemkatapa* are stated to have been issued in the name of Venkatapatiraya II. While all the authors who made such attribution accept that it is a nayaka issue, they had considered the name *vemkatapa* as signifying

Venkatapatiraya. While the coins themselves are described in a later section, the following are the reasons why they cannot be attributed to Venkatapatiraya.

1. The coins contain legend *vemkatapa* and not *venkata* or *venkatapati* by which Venkatapatiraya was known. Coins definitely attributable to Venkata II have the legend *srivemkataraya*.

2. Some of the coins have the legend *srivemkatapanayudu* clearly indicating that the coins were issued in the name of Venkatapa nayaka.

3. The nayakas of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee were powerful and had started issuing coins. In fact, Venkata II was dependent on them. While the Gingee Krishnappa nayak did revolt against Venkata II, he had issued several coin types in his name which are described in a later chapter.

It is the author's conviction that post Krishnadevaraya period it is unlikely that coins were issued in the name of Vijayanagar rulers from Tamilnadu. Any attribution therefore should be backed by strong reasons. Coins of Achyutaraya and Sadasivaraya are not known from this area. The coins attributed to Tirumalaraya are doubtful and even these should have been issued when he was the governor of the Tamil country. There is also an element of doubt in the coins stated to have been issued in the name of Ramaraya.

Ramadevaraya

The coins listed below were assigned to Ramadevaraya in some of the earlier works.[15] This was because of the presence of the legend *rama*. It is well known that Thanjavur Raghunatha nayak helped Ramadevaraya to come to power. It is also known that Raghunatha nayak was a devotee of Lord Rama. Considering these aspects, the coins were assigned to Ramadevaraya who it was believed would have minted in honour of Raghunatha nayak. It was also thought that the legend points to his name. However the absence of *raya* or *raja* on the legend points to the fact that this coin is not issue of Vijayanagar rulers. Ramadevaraya was not powerful enough that any of the nayakas in Tamilnadu would have chosen to issue coins in his name.

Mitchiner attributes these coins to Gingee Maratha ruler Rajaram. These coins are reported from central Tamilnadu.

306. Copper, 6.6 gm, 17 mm, S, Tirucoilur. Obv. Gandabherunda to right. Rev. A dagger in the middle and towards the left and right field Left Right Moon Sun (Nagari) *ra* *ma*	
307. Copper, 3.5 gm, 15 mm, S, Tirucoilur. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated on a raised seat. Rev. Same as in the previous coin.	
308. Copper, 3.1 gm, 15 mm, S, Tirucoilur. Obv. Narasimha. Rev. Same as coin 306.	
309. Copper, 4.0 gm, 15 mm, S, Tirucoilur. Obv. *Sudharsana chakra* or discus. Rev. Same as coin 306.	

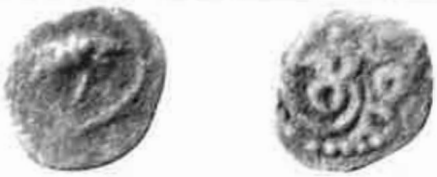
Srirangaraya III

Coins with legend *sriramga* were attributed to Srirangaraya III by K. Ganesh and Girijapathy.[16] The same coins were assigned to Srirangaraya I by Mitchiner.[17]

These coins have various devices on the obverse and on the reverse is the Telugu legend *sriramga*. These coins in kasu or two kasu denominations have been reported from Vellore, Tirucoilur and Karur.[18] The only reason for attributing these to Srirangaraya III is the presence of the legend *sriramga* as well as several variations in obverse devices suggesting that the coins should have been issued by someone who was reasonably powerful!

M.T. Karunakaran assigns this series to Muthu Veerappa Nayak III of Madurai stating that the full name of Muthu Veerappa Nayak III is Sri Ranga Krishna Muthu Veerappa Nayak.[19] It is unlikely that Muthu Veerappa Nayak would have chosen to mint coins with the legend *sriramga*. Muthu Virappa Nayak III (1682-1689) inherited only part of the territories; the others lost during the period of Chokkanatha to Mysore, Thanjavur Marathas and the Sethupatis. Amongst his immediate predecessors, only limited types of coins of Tirumala are known and coins of Chokkanatha Nayak are not known. It should be noted that Tirumalaraya was one of the most powerful of the Madurai nayaks. Thus it is unlikely that a king who inherited only part of the territories would have minted these coins especially when his immediate predecessors who were more powerful than him did not mint coins in their name. The find spots of the coins are from outside his territory.

The other possibility is that *sriramga* may not refer to a king but Lord Venkatesa. These may be similar to the *srivira* series of coins. This is more likely to be the case, as the coins appear to be of a later period than the one suggested by Mitchiner and thus were assigned to Sriranga III and not Sriranga I by K. Ganesh and Girijapathy. Thus in all possibility these coins were issued by rulers in the name of Lord than Sriranga III. The absence of *raya* or *raja* after the legend *sriramga* rules out the possibility of these being assigned to Vijayanagar rulers.

310. Copper, 2.2 gm, 13 mm, R. Obv. Couchant bull to right. Rev. Around what appears to be a dagger, Kannada legend restored as *sri ra m ga ra ya*. The reading is doubtful.	
311. Copper, 1.5 gm, 12 mm, R. Obv. Fish. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
312. Copper, 2.2 gm, 13 mm, S. Obv. Standing figure with right hand raised. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	

313. Copper, 2.0 gm, 13 mm, S. Obv. Standing figure holding a dagger on the right hand. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
314. Copper, 1.1 gm, 11 mm, S. Obv. Standing figure (Rama?). Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
315. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Dancing figure. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
316. Copper, 1.7 gm, 11 mm, R. Obv. Peacock holding a snake. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
317. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Vishnu standing. Rev. A sword to left and Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
318. Copper, 2.1 gm, 12 mm, R. Obv. Ganesa seated facing. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
319. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm, R. Obv. *Matsya* avatar of Vishnu. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
320. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm, R. Obv. *Kurma* avatar of Vishnu. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
321. Copper, 2.2 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Narasimha. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	

322. Copper, 2.2 gm, 12 mm, R. Obv. *Vamana* avatar of Vishnu. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
323. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Rama standing. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
324. Copper, 2.2 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Buddha seated under a bodhi tree. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
325. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm, R. Obv. Camel. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
326. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm, S. Obv. Hanuman moving to left. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	
327. Copper, 2.0 gm, 11 mm, S. Obv. Garuda standing facing. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra m ga*.	

Miscellaneous Coins

While this book was about to go for printing, the author received the book titled *The Coinage and History of Vijayanagara Empire* authored by M. Girijapathi.[20] Many of the coins described and illustrated by Girijapathi are covered either in this chapter or the earlier two chapters as they are already published coins. However some coins illustrated and described in his book require review. Since this was a last minute addition, coins both assignable to Vijayanagar rulers but not assigned properly as well as those not assignable to Vijayanagar rulers are discussed here.

Coin 020: Indicated as coin belonging to Harihara I while the reverse legend that can be seen are *si va* or *de va / ra ya*.

Coin 022: Attributed to Harihara I, no semblance of the legend *sriviraharihara* on the reverse.

Coin 023 and 024: These coins belong to Devaraya and not Harihara I; the legend *sridevaraya* is clearly seen on both the coins.

Coin 031: The reason for attributing coin with *sri* on the reverse to Bukka I is not explained.

Coin 032: The reverse which is restored as *bu* appears to be a device other than letter *bu*. The author himself says that the letter is not clearly seen.

Coin 040 and 042: The reverse legend is *srivirabhupatiraya*. Some of the letters are out of flan on both the coins.

Coin 046: The legend is *srivirabhupatiraya*. The reverse is illustrated up-side-down.

Coin 055: The illustration provided is Siva-Parvati and not Brahma-Sarasvati.

Coin 056: The illustration provided is Lakshmi-Narayana and not Lakshmi-Narasimha.

Coin 065: Indicated as silver coin. The coin possibly is debased or contemporary forgery.

Coin 072: In the illustration provided, Siva holds damaru and not battle axe.

Coin 075: Refers to 070 which is Lakshmi-Narayana type. The illustration provided is of Siva-Parvati.

Coin 076: The reading of the legend on both the obverse and reverse appears to be doubtful. For example, on the reverse the last letter is *va* and not *ya*, and the letter *deva* is not seen on the first line.

Coin 077: The illustration provided is of Harihara II and not Devaraya. The silver type is same as the one illustrated in 065 (although a different coin). The coin possibly is debased or a contemporary forgery.

Coin 091: Appears to be of later period. This possibly is a provincial issue.

Coin 098: The letter in front of the bull is *va* or *vi* and not *da*.

Coin 142: The illustration is the same as coin 135 while the description matches with coin 136.

Coin 151 and 152: The reading of the reverse legend is doubtful.

Coin 154: The reading of the reverse legend is doubtful.

Coin 168, 169, 170, 171: The illustration provided are bull type coins of Devaraya and not Krishnadevaraya.

Coin 178: The reverse legend is *pratapadevaraya* and not *pratapakrishnaraya.*

Coin 179: Reading of the reverse legend is doubtful. The legend seen is *prapa/raya...*

Coin 209: The reverse legend is *pratapachyutaraya* and not *sripratapakrishnaraya.* The reverse is illustrated up-side-down.

Coin 211: Reading of the reverse legend is doubtful.

Coin 216: No semblance of any of the letter indicated (*srikrishnaraya*) on the reverse.

Coin 217: The reverse legend is definitely not *srikrishnaraya.*

Coin 218: All the letters are out of flan. This possibly is elephant type of Devaraya.

Coin 233: The reverse reading is doubtful. The reverse is illustrated up-side-down. This type appears to be provincial issue with corrupt legend.

Coin 248: The reverse reading is doubtful. This type appears to be provincial issue with corrupt legend.

Coin 260: The reverse legend is *srisadasivarayaru* and not *pratapasadasivarayaru.*

Coin 262: The reverse legend is *sripratapasivaraya* and not *sripratapasadasivarayaru.*

Coin 264, 265: The reverse legend is mostly *sripratapadevaraya.* It is definitely not *sripratapasadasivaraya.*

Coin 270: The coin illustrated belongs to Krishnadevaraya and not Sadasivaraya.

Coin 274: The reverse legend is *sripratapachyutaraya* and not *sripratapasadasivarayaru.*

Coin 281: The coin illustrated belongs to Krishnadevaraya and not Sadasivaraya.

Coin 289: Reading of reverse legend is doubtful. The reverse is illustrated up-side-down.

Coin 291: Appears to be Devaraya type. The reverse reading is doubtful.

Coin 292: The reverse legend is *sripratapachyutaraya* and not *sripratapasadasiva.* The reverse is illustrated up-side-down.

Coin 296: The reverse legend is corrupt and not *srisadasiva*.

Coin 287 and Coin 299: The illustration is same. The reading is *sripratapachyutaraya* and not *sripratapasadasivaraya*.

Coin 326: The illustration of the reverse of the coin is the same as coin 325. This type doesn't belong to Vijayanagar and doesn't come with the illustrated reverse.

Coin 330: Characters mentioned are not seen on the reverse.

Coin 331, 332, 333: The reverse reading is doubtful.

Coin 334: The reverse reading is not *viraramgaraya*.

Coin 336, 337: Reverse reading is not the same as illustrated coins.

Coin 339, 340, 341: The reverse reading is doubtful. Not even a single letter of *vemkata* is seen.

Coin 354, 356: Except *ka* no letters seen. This is possibly a provincial issue due to its corrupt legend.

Coin 366, 367, 368, 369 etc.: Coins with legend *ve* or *vem* are attributed to Venkatapatiraya II without assigning any reason. They appear to be nayaka issue (possibly of Venkatappa nayaka of Gingee). Attribution of coins with single letter to any king is always subject to debate, especially if the ruler has struck coins with his full name. All such attributions should be supported by reasons.

Coin 372: The reverse is not *vem* but Hanuman. The reverse is illustrated up-side-down.

Coin 427: The legend is *srivira* and not *sriramga*.

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4. S.G. Dhopate, 'More Silver Coins of Vijayanagar', *ND*, Vol. XX, 1996, pp. 83-90.

5. S.G. Dhopate, 'Silver Coins of Vijayanagar Empire', *SSIC*, Vol. XII, 2002, pp. 7-12.
6. S.G. Dhopate, 'Some Coins Assignable to Vijayanagara Rulers', *SSIC*, Vol. XII, 2002, pp.55-58.
7. A.V. Narasimha Murthy, P. Kundanamal Jain, 'Some More Silver Coins of Vijayanagara', *SSIC*, Vol. IX, 1999, pp. 84-88.
8. K. Ganesh and Girijapathy, *The Coins of Hoysalas*, Bangalore, 1998.
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10. *Ibid.*, p. 171, coin 515.
11. Michael Mitchiner, *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, Part One, Hawkins Publications, London, 1998, p. 247, coin 1133-1137.
12. M.V. Krishnappa, 'A New Copper Coin of Achutaraya', *SSIC*, Vol. XII, 2002, pp. 48-51.
13. Michael Mitchiner, *op.cit.*, Part Two, p. 185, coin 612-613.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 197, coin 774-776. See also A.V. Narasimhamurthy, 'Four Sarasvati Type Copper Coins of Vijayanagara', *SSIC*, Vol. XII, pp. 59-64.
15. K. Ganesh and Girijapathy, *The Coins of the Vijayanagar Empire*, Bangalore, 1997, pp. 120-122.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-132.
17. Michael Mitchiner, *op.cit.*, Part Two, p. 211.
18. *Ibid.*
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10

A NOTE ON VIRARAYA PANA

Viraraya hana or Virarayi hana or Virarayi pana or Virarayi panam is a small sized gold coin which was in wide circulation in south India. These coins still appear in large quantities through various hoards from most part of south India.

These coins were initially attributed to Hoysalas by M.H. Krishna.[1] His attributions of the hanas to the Hoysalas have largely been based on the interpretation of the obverse device. The obverse is a figure formed by several curved lines with a large number of dots on one side, while on the reverse is a long figure with four rows of dots on one side which has been described sometimes as a crocodile. While commenting on this, M.H. Krishna points out that the obverse figure is definitely a maned lion moving to right exactly as on the Hoysala gadyanas. It is represented in a highly conventionalized form by some dots and lines which to the casual observer look meaningless. The lion's eyes prominent part of his snout, his shoulders and paws are represented by dots while a curved line stands for his raised neck, back and arched tail. The crescent-like curve above the lion's back becomes narrowed into the shape of *virarekha* or the parabola-like mark worn by the Vaishnavites on their forehead. The reverse figure is a conventionalized boar whose elongated snout and curled up tail have led to its being taken as a crocodile. It cannot be a crocodile as on most of the specimens the animal has ears.

In support of this attribution, M.H. Krishna puts forth the following arguments:

1. The weight of the Virarayi hana is usually 6.2 grains which is tenth part of the gadyana.

2. As these coins are found in large numbers between Kaveri and Krishna rivers and occur especially in the Mysore and the Tamil country, they could only belong to a large and powerful empire.

3. Virarayi fanams and other fanams with similar obverse device are found in large number at Halebid and other well known Hoysala centres.

4. The name Viraraya occurs among the Hoysalas more than in other dynasties.

5. Silver coins similar to Virarayi pana are also known and these are attributed to Hoysalas.[2]

Since the Virarayi hana are found in large numbers in differing weights and different fineness of gold, it is likely that while the Hoysalas started the issue of the Viraraya pana, subsequent dynasties also issued the coin due to its popularity. As seen in earlier chapters, the terms hana and its variants panam, pana are noticed in many Vijayanagar inscriptions. There are only three panams definitely attributable to Vijayanagar noticed thus far. Even these are extremely scarce. However several Vijayanagar inscriptions make mention of hana or panams. Thus Viraraya hana should have definitely been minted and circulated during the Vijayanagar period. The wider circulation of these coins also suggests that these were continued to be minted by powerful kingdom such as Vijayanagar empire after the Hoysalas.

The Viraraya pana are found in several parts of Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.[3,4] Table 10.1 lists some of the hoards in Karnataka where Viraraya pana were found.[5]

The presence of Vijayanagar coins along with Virarayi pana in some of the hoards suggests that these were prevalent during the Vijayanagar period. Other hoards from where Viraraya pana were reported include Attigere in Chitradurga district,[6] Chikkerahalli in Shimoga district,[7] Hirebonigere in Shimoga district,[8] Gabbur in Shimoga district,[9] Kamblipur in Bangalore district[10] and Nadawayal taluk in Waynad district of Kerala.[11]

The obverse of the Viraraya pana has also been interpreted as standing figure seen on Chola and Ceylon coins.[12] In the opinion of the author, this interpretation is not correct and the resemblance of the obverse with the lion device found on Hoysala gadyanas cannot be doubted. Thus the Viraraya issues were first struck by the Hoysala rulers and later adopted by the successive kingdoms including Vijayanagar empire due to the popularity of

Vaddarahalli, Kollegal taluk	54 Viraraya pana along with quarter varahas of Vijayanagara
Sirigodu, Kollegal taluk	63 Viraraya pana
P.G. Palya, Mysore district	66 Viraraya pana
Haranahalli, Shimoga district	7 Viraraya pana
Arasinaguppe, Chikkamagalur district	11 Viraraya pana and 8 Vijayanagar coins
Chikkamalur, Channapatna taluk	6 Viraraya pana, 7 coins of Harihara II
Ramnagara, Bangalore district	182 Viraraya pana, 23 Vijayanagar varahas
Kenchanahalli, Channapatna taluk	4 Viraraya pana, 1 half varaha of Vijayanagar
Brahmapura, Channapatna taluk	24 Viraraya pana
Chigalur, Magadi taluk	10 Viraraya pana
Hospet, Bellary district	8 Viraraya pana, 2 Vijayanagar coins
Haruhalli, Channagiri taluk	7 Viraraya pana
Masarur, Shimoga district	7 Viraraya pana, 7 Harihara coins
Baluvanerie, Tiptur taluk	81 Viraraya pana
Byadarahali, Holenarasipura taluk	312 Viraraya pana
Anekannambadi, Holenarasipura taluk	9 Viraraya pana
Katte, Arasikere taluk	7 Viraraya pana
Bharatavalli, Alur taluk	138 Viraraya pana
Mittur, Mulbagal taluk	22 Viraraya pana
Kundur, Mudigere taluk	10 Vijayanagar coins, 6 Viraraya pana
Karadihalli, Chikmagalur district	11 Viraraya pana
Aldur, Chikmagalur district	236 Viraraya pana
Kalasa, Chikmagalur district	2 Viraraya pana, 12 Vijayanagar coins
Joladalu, Chikmagalur district	172 Viraraya pana

Table 10.1: Viraraya pana hoards in Karnataka

these coins. Thus the terms pana, panam, narpanam, kulada hana etc. found in the Vijayanagar inscriptions refer to the pana of Virarayi type, possibly with varying gold contents.

The Viraraya pana found its way to Kerala through Cannanore in the fourteenth century. Cannanore became part of the Vijayanagar kingdom when Alupas submitted to Harihara I.[13]

The obverse and reverse devices underwent modifications as years went by, finally leading to complete stylization of original devices. The obverse device in some specimens were called Kali, due to highly stylized representation of the lion leading to it being transformed to a human body and the *virarekha* being transformed to head.

Description of coins

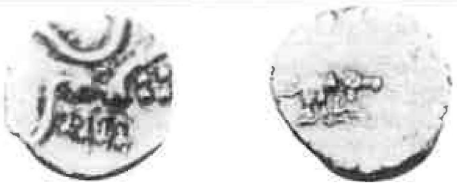
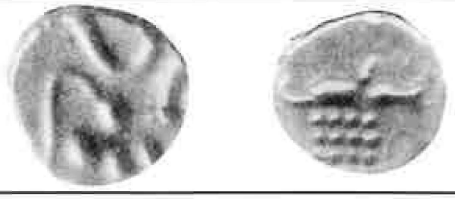
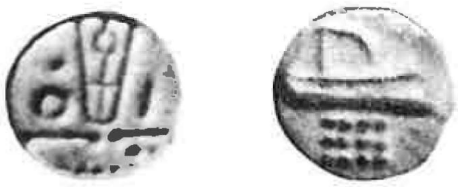
Viraraya pana and their variations are described here. Two variations of the pana have already been described and illustrated earlier in the *Catalogue of*

Coins chapter (coins 73 and 223). The degeneration in the devices can be noticed in the illustrations provided against the coins listed below. Better specimens may be the issues of Hoysalas and Vijayanagar.

For the sake of convenience, while describing the coins, the obverse device containing the lion and *virarekha* is called Virarayi obverse and the reverse containing the representation of boar is called Virarayi reverse.

328. Gold, 0.4 gm, 7 mm. Obv. Lion to right with crescent like curve above. Rev. Conch.	

This is the precursor to the Virarayi pana. The above coin is an issue of Hoysalas. Note the similarity of the lion with those observed on the Hoysala gadyanas (coin 358).

329. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm. Obv. Virarayi obverse. Rev. Virarayi reverse.	
330. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm. Obv. Virarayi obverse. Rev. Virarayi reverse.	
331. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm. Obv. Virarayi obverse. Rev. Garuda moving right holding a snake. This coin is attributed to the Banas.	
332. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm. Obv. Virarayi obverse. Rev. Virarayi reverse; above the boar is inverted Nagari letter *pa*. Coins similar to above type are noticed in Chitradurga and surrounding areas. These were probably issued by nayaks of Chitradurga.	

333. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse.

Rev. Virarayi reverse.

Coins similar to above were observed in Nadawayal hoard.[14]

334. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse; dots on either side of *virarekha*.

Rev. Virarayi reverse; an additional dot is seen below the three rows of dots of four dots each.

This type is popularly known as *topa* fanam of Cochin. Coins of this type were issued by Rajas of Cochin.

335. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse.

Rev. Four rows of four dots each; letter *he*.

This coin was issued by the Mysore king Hyder Ali.

336. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse stylized into Kali.

Rev. OC above boar; The body of the boar takes the form of J and hence the reverse is popularly referred as OC over lazy J.

Coins of above type were issued by the Dutch from Cochin. OC refers to *Oostindische Compagnie*.

337. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse.

Rev. Dagger.

This type is attributed to Thanjavur Marathas. These are popularly known as *Getti* fanams.

338. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse stylized into Kali.

Rev. Nagari legend *rama / rau*.

339. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse stylized into Kali.

Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend *rama / rau;*

The above two types are attributed to Gingee Marathas. The above two types are examples of *Kali* fanams. These may also be issue of Thanjavur Nayaks as they are encountered in the Thanjavur region.[15] Some of the coins especially the one with corrupt reverse legend are highly debased and appear as silver coins. On the reverse of some of the coins, the *ankusa* like object that is held by Rajagopalaswamy is also seen along with the legend and hence these may also be the Rajagopalaswamy (Rajagopali?) panas.

340. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse stylized into Kali.

Rev. Legend *Muhammad Shah* (?); above date.

This coin could be an issue of Deccan Subedar Asaf Jah.[16]

341. Gold, 0.34 gm, 7 mm.

Obv. Virarayi obverse stylized into Kali.

Rev. Legend *wala*.

This coin was issued by Walajah I, the Nawab of Arcot.[17]

Coin Die of Viraraya Pana

A coin die with Virarayi obverse was recently reported. The details of the die are given below.[18]

342. Metal: Bronze. Weight: 25.4 gm. Size: 15 mm diameter; 20 mm height.	

Gold Content on the Coins

Prinsep provides important information on the gold content of the panas of the later varieties.[19] His findings are summarized in Table 10.2.

Pana type	Gold content
Viraraya (unidentified type)	46.6%
Goolgi (Viraraya plough fanam)	48.9%
Tanjore (unidentified type)	29.1%
Getti panam (Marathas of Tanjore)	44.3%
Gopali (Rajagopali?)	22.9%

Table 10.2: Gold content on Panas

It can be seen that the gold content never exceeded 50% in most coins. As already stated, some of the Kali fanams are highly debased and appear as silver coins.

References

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5. R. Gopal, 'Viraraya Phanams A Re-examination', *Recent Researches in Karnataka Archaeology*, Mysore, 2000, pp. 135-139.
6. *MAR*, 1945, pp. 76-80.
7. *MAR*, 1921, p. 32.

8. *MAR*, 1912, pp. 64-68.
9. *MAR*, 1911, pp. 57-59.
10. *MAR*, 1910, pl. 5, 9-11.
11. G. Sarojini Amma, 'Coin Hoards from Nadawayal and Nelluwai, Kerala', *SSIC*, Vol. XIV, pp. 68-71.
12. P. Shanmugam, 'Viraraya Panam of Vijayanagar Rulers', *SSIC*, Vol. XIII, pp. 47-55.
13. T.S. Ravishankar, 'Viraraya Fanam from Thiruvanathapuram', *SSIC*, Vol. XIV, pp. 98-100.
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16. *Ibid.*
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18. K. Ganesh, *Technology of South Indian Coinage*, Bangalore, 2008.
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11

SEALS ON COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF VIJAYANAGAR RULERS

Copper plate inscriptions along with the stone inscriptions play an important role in the reconstruction of the history of India. Copper plate inscriptions (*tamarashasana*), usually record grants of land or lists of royal lineage and usually carry the royal seal. The copper plates are secured through a copper ring, which passes through the holes on the copper plate and terminates on a seal. The device and legend come out in relief on the countersunk surface of the seal. The seal served not only as a mark of authentication but also as a safeguard for the copper plates could not be replaced without breaking the seal. The tampering with the seal or the ring would render the grant null and void.[1]

The study of seals (sigillography) provides valuable information on various aspects such as culture, royal emblem, religious preferences etc. Attribution of coins of some rulers (such as those of Gangas and Kakatiyas) was made only based on the similarity of the devices used on the coins with those found on the seals on copper plate inscriptions.

A study of the seals used on the copper plate grants of Vijayanagar rulers is attempted here. This will help us in comparing the devices used on the seals with those used in the coins. Towards this, the copper plate grants of Vijayanagar rulers listed in various published sources were analysed.[2] Some of the unpublished grants were also included in the analysis.

The results are shown in Table 11.1.

The table shows that out of the 60 inscriptions analysed, 19 have *Varaha* as the seal and one a figure of either Vidyararanya or the depiction of *Vamana*

Reference	King	Device on the Seal
EC, Vol. VII, Md 144	Achyutaraya	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. VII, Ml 139	Virupaksha	No details
EC, Vol. VII, Ng 107	Sadasivaraya	No details
EC, Vol. VII, Ng 134	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. VII, Ng 160	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. VII, Md 7	Krishnadevaraya	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. VI, Kr 71	Vira Narasimha	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. VI, Kr 71	Achyutaraya	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. VI, Kr 99	Achyutaraya	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. VI, Sr 21	Mallikarjuna	No details
EC, Vol. VI, Sr 25	Devaraya II	No details
EC, Vol. III, Gu 1	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. III, Gu 147	Mallikarjuna	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. III, Gu 149	Harihara II	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. III, Gu 150	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. III, Ng 112	Srirangaraya I	No seal – single plate
EC, Vol. III, Ng 113	Ramaraya	No details
EC, Vol. III, Ng 116	Ramaraya	No seal – single plate
EC, Vol. III, Ng 212	Venkatapatiraya II	No details
EC, Vol. III, Ng 398	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. V, Kn 77	Harihara	No details
EC, Vol. V, My 101	Virupaksha	No details
EC, Vol. V, My 105	Achyutaraya	No details
EC, Vol. V, TN 15	Ramadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. V, TN 17	Harihara II	No details
EC, Vol. V, TN 105	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. V, TN 107	Srirangaraya III	No seal – single plate
EC, Vol. V, TN 108	Srirangaraya III	No seal – single plate
EC, Vol. V, TN 256	Harihara II	No details
EC, Vol. IV, Ch 372	Harihara III	No details
EC, Vol. VIII, HN 87	Harihara II	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. VIII, Hn 8	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. VIII, Hn 9	Sadasivaraya	No details
EC, Vol. VIII, Hn 10	Devaraya I	No details
EC, Vol. VIII, Hn 83	Krishnadevaraya	No details
EC, Vol. VIII, Hn 115	Harihara II	No details
EC, Vol. X, Ak 240	Achyutaraya	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. X, Cp 21	Krishnadevaraya	No details

EC, Vol. X, Cp 131	Harihara II	No details
EC, Vol. IX, Bl 171	Harihara II	No details
EC, Vol. IX, Bl 172	Krishnadevaraya	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. IX, Bl 173	Srirangaraya III	No details
EC, Vol. IX, Bl 176	Srirangaraya III	No details
EC, Vol. IX, Bl 264	Harihara II	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. IX, Bl 387	Srirangaraya III	No seal – single plate
EC, Vol. IX, Bl 576	Devaraya II	No details
EC, Vol. XI, Sg 32	Harihara I	No details
EC, Vol. XI, Sg 33	Harihara I	No details
EC, Vol. XI, Sg 34	Harihara I	*Varaha*
EC, Vol. XI, Sg 35	Devaraya II	No details
EC, Vol. XI, Sg 79	Devaraya I	*Varaha*
EI, Vol. XIV, p. 168	Krishnadevaraya	*Varaha*
EI, Vol. XIV, p. 210	Sadasivaraya	No details
EI, Vol. XIV, p. 310	Achyutaraya	No details
EI, Vol. XIV, p. 341	Sadasivaraya	*Varaha*
MAR, 1932, p. 130	Sadasivaraya	*Varaha*
J. Filliozat *etal.*	Srirangaraya I	*Varaha*
Unpublished	Devaraya I	*Varaha*
Unpublished	Devaraya I	*Varaha*
Unpublished	Bukkaraya I	*Vidyaranya or Vamana* ?

Table 11.1: Seals on copper plate grants of Vijayanagar rulers

avatar of Vishnu. The rest of the copper plate grants have either a single plate thus not necessitating a seal or the details of the seals are not described in the inscriptions referred. Where the details are not provided, it may be because the ring may have been broken and only the plates were available or the author may have not felt the need to describe the seal.

The *Varaha* seals show a boar with sun and moon on top and a dagger in front. At the bottom of the boar is a floral design. The seal on one of the copper plate inscription is illustrated (**343**). The only exception to this seal is the one which has a figure which is either sage Vidyaranya or is a depiction of *Vamana* avatar of Vishnu (**344**).

Prior to Vijayanagar, most of the rulers used their royal emblems on both their seal and their coins. The examples shown in Table 11.2 clearly indicate this trend.

Dynasty	Royal emblem used in the seals and coins	Reference to the the illustration of seal and coin
Vishnukundin	Lion	345 and 346
Kalyani Chalukya	*Varaha* (other devices were also used in the coins)	347 and 348
Kakatiya	*Varaha*	349 and 350 (the punches in the Kakatiya punchmarked coin is illustrated)
Western Ganga	Elephant	351 and 352
Pandya	Fish	
Pallava	Bull	353 and 354
Chola	Tiger	355 and 356
Hoysala	Lion	357 and 358
Alupa	Fish	359 and 360
Goa Kadambas	Lion	361 and 362

Table 11.2: Seals and coins of south Indian rulers

However, barring Tirumalaraya, no other ruler used *Varaha* on his coins. There is also a doubt raised now as to whether Tirumalaraya issued coins of *Varaha* type. Assuming he has indeed issued some of these coins, these are from Tamilnadu and not from the Karnataka region.

There could be many reasons for this new trend started by Vijayanagar rulers.

1. The founders of Vijayanagar empire were influenced by sage Vidyaranya and this may be the reason for adopting religious symbols on the coins.

2. The rulers were tolerant to all religion and more so to both saivism and vaishnavism. As an expanding empire, initially they did not feel necessary to thrust their royal emblem on others. They were more content to adopt local devices with their names on the reverse. Thus we see distinct devices used on the coins from Tamilnadu and Karnataka/Andhra regions.

3. The royal emblem got stabilized after their initial coinage and the rulers did not feel the need to change the existing coinage pattern.

4. They became so powerful that their name on the coins was sufficient to convey the message that it was an issue of the Vijayanagar empire. There was no need to depict their royal emblem on the coins.

5. They wanted to promote religion through coins. Coins in this part of the country are considered auspicious.

6. Above all, they wanted to bring innovation in coinage, breaking the monotony of using the same device on the coins as was done by their predecessors.

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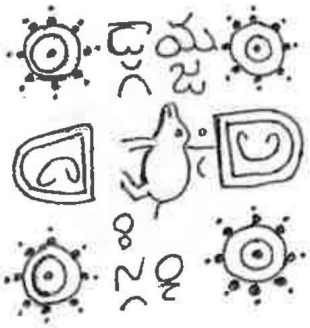

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12

GODS AND GODDESSES ON VIJAYANAGAR COINS

A study of depiction of Gods and Goddesses on coins provides valuable information for iconographic study and also helps us understand the religious conditions of the period. Unlike the earlier dynasties that ruled south India, the Vijayanagar rulers depicted the Gods and Goddesses extensively on their coins. This pattern was continued by their feudatories and later by the Nayaks who declared independence. An attempt is made here to study the Gods and Goddesses depicted on Vijayanagar coins.

Siva-Parvati

The earliest to portray Siva and Parvati on coins were the Vijayanagar rulers. Siva and Parvati first appear on the half varahas of Harihara II. Here Siva is shown seated in *padmasana* with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a trident and the other is around his consort's waist. One right hand holds a *damaruga* while the other is in *abhayamudra* or the attitude of reassurance. The Goddess has joined her hands in devotional attitude. Near Siva's head are the sun and moon. In another variation, Siva is shown seated in *padmasana* with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a trident and the other is around his consort's waist. One right hand holds a battle-axe while the other is in *abhayamudra* or the attitude of reassurance. Devaraya I and II continued the issue of coins with Siva and Parvati on the gold coins. There are two variations in the depiction of the Siva and Parvati. In one variety, Siva is shown seated in *padmasana* with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a trident and the other is around his consort's waist. One right hand holds a *damaruga* while the other is in *abhayamudra*. In another type, Siva is shown seated in *padmasana* with consort Parvati on his left thigh. Siva's one left hand holds a *mriga* or antelope and the other is around his

consort's waist. One right hand holds a *parasu* (battle axe) while the other is in *abhayamudra*. It is well known that the Sangama rulers were Saivaites, although they promoted other religions. Tuluva ruler Sadasivaraya also issued coins with Siva and Parvati.

Siva in *linga* form is depicted on one of the copper issues of Sadasivaraya. His copper coin has a Sivalinga on left and a big couchant bull on right.

Lakshmi-Narayana

The earliest to portray Lakshmi and Narayana on coins were again the Vijayanagar rulers. Harihara II was the first to issue coins with Lakshmi and Narayana. His half varaha has the depiction of Narayana seated in *padmasana* with consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. The God holds on one right hand the *Sudarsana Chakra* or discus and the other is in *abhayamudra*. One left hand holds the *Sankha* or conch while the other is around consort's waist. Devaraya I and II and Sangama ruler Ramachandra also issued half varaha and varaha of Lakshmi and Narayana type. It is well known that Sangama rulers were Saivaites. However they also promoted Vaishnaivism as can be seen from their coins. Tuluva ruler Sadasivaraya issued varahas of Lakshmi and Narayana type. This type was later adopted by the Aravidu ruler Venkatapatiraya II. His copper coin has the depiction of Narayana seated with his consort Lakshmi on his left thigh.

Brahma-Sarasvati

So far as south Indian coins are concerned, only one coin issued by Harihara II has the depiction of Brahma and Sarasvati. In this half varaha, Brahma is shown seated with Sarasvati. The God's hands are thus disposed: *abhaya* (with rosary?), ladle, *kalasa* or *pasa* and *pustaka*. The last helps the identification of God with Brahma. The Goddess appears to hold a rod like thing, perhaps rudra-veena.

The depiction of Brahma and Sarasvati has not been popular. These issues are also scarce, indicating that only fewer coins of this type were issued.

Lakshmi-Narasimha

Vijayanagar ruler Harihara II issued coins of Lakshmi and Narasimha type. In his half varaha, Narasimha is shown seated with consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. The God holds on one right hand the *Sudarsana Chakra* or discus and the other is in *abhayamudra*. One left hand holds the *sankha* or conch while the other is around consort's waist. Tuluva ruler Viranarasimha issued copper coins with only Narasimha on the obverse.

The depiction of Lakshmi and Narasimha has not been popular with Vijayanagar kings. Only Harihara II issued coins of Lakshmi-Narasimha type. These issues are also scarce, indicating that only fewer coins of this type were issued.

Venkatesa

Venkatesa of Tirupati was a popular deity of the Tuluva and Aravidu rulers. A portrait sculpture of Krishnadevaraya is still seen in the Tirupati temple. Venkatesa is first seen on the coins of Krishnadevaraya. His double varaha has the depiction of Lord Venkatesa standing facing front. The right back hand holds the discus and left the conch. The right front hand is in the *danamudra* and the left on his hip. Above the image of the Lord is an ornamented *tarana* or arch with a lion face at the keystone supported by two *makaras*. This coin was minted by Krishnadevaraya after his victory over Orissa. Aravidu ruler Ramaraya issued copper coins with Lord Venkatesa on the obverse. The Gandikota varaha (or Venkatapati pagoda) which has Venkatesa on the obverse was issued by the Aravidu rulers. A varaha attributed to Venkatapatiraya III has depiction of Lord Venkatesa with Sridevi and Bhudevi on either side.

Balakrishna

Krishna was a popular deity during Vijayanagar times. This is attested by the fact that Krishnadevaraya after his victory over Udayagiri brought the image of Krishna and built a temple at Hampi. He also minted varahas with Balakrishna seated, with one knee bent and resting on seat and the other raised up and supporting the left arm which is stretched out at ease. The right hand of Balakrishna holds a lump of butter. This coin popularly known as Durgi varaha was later adopted by many nayakas.

Sri Rama

Though Rama and Sita were worshipped by the Vijayanagar rulers, only Tirumalaraya issued coins with Rama and Sita. On his varaha and half varaha is the depiction of Sri Rama seated on raised seat meant to be a throne, wearing tall crown or *kirita,* with Sita seated by his side to the left and Lakshmana standing behind the throne to the right. Lakshmana has strung bow on his right shoulder and his hands are joined in devotion. Rama's right hand is in *abhayamudra* or attitude of reassurance.

Lakshmi

The first and the only occasion we see Lakshmi on the coins of the Vijayanagar rulers is in the copper coin issued in the name of Harihara I. The

deity was mistaken as Vishnu in earlier works, but it is clear that the deity depicted on the coin is Lakshmi. Lakshmi is shown holding lotus on both hands. It is not clear why this deity was not used by other rulers.

Varaha

Varaha (boar) was one of the incarnations of Vishnu. In this incarnation, Vishnu is stated to have lifted the earth from the depths of lower region.

Varaha was also the *lanchana* (royal insignia) of the Vijayanagar rulers. *Varaha* is depicted on the coins of Tirumalaraya (although there is doubt on the attribution). On most specimens, a dagger is shown in front of the *Varaha* with sun and moon being depicted above the *Varaha*.

Hanuman

Hanuman was also a popular deity during Vijayanagar period as can be seen from a number of sculptures of Hanuman in various temples built by the Vijayanagar rulers. The earliest prototype of Vijayanagar coins was the *danava murari banta* series of Nidugal Cholas. This coin was adopted with modification of reverse legend by Harihara I and Bukka I. Harihara I's gold varahas, silver taras and copper coin depict the figure of Hanuman to right, with knees slightly bent, left hand resting on left knee and right hand raised up as in the act of striking. The tail is lifted up behind the head. Bukka also adopted the same series in his gold, silver and copper coins. Harihara II initially adopted this device on his gold varaha and his coin has on the reverse the legend *sri vira pratapa harihara*. The device was not used by successive rulers. However Aravidu ruler Venkatadri issued a copper coin with Hanuman seated in *padmasana*; the tail curved near the head and the face turned to his left.

Garuda

Garuda is first seen on the copper coins of Harihara I. On his copper coin, Garuda is shown with long beak moving to right. The next ruler to use Garuda on coins was Krishnadevaraya. His copper coins in various denominations have Garuda to left or right with beaked face wearing tall *kirita* or crown with two fillets, hands joined in breast in the attitude of devotion. He is shown kneeling on his knee in the *virasana* or heroic posture. Sadasivaraya also issued copper coins with Garuda in various posture *virasana*, standing straight and in *padmasana* with folded hands. Aravidu rulers seem to have had a passion for Garuda as can be seen from their coins. Srirangaraya I issued coins with Garuda seated in padmasana with face turned to his right. Venkatapatiraya II also issued copper coins with Garuda to left in *virasana* pose, hands joined on breast in attitude of devotion. Venkatadri issued copper coins with Garuda

kneeling to left in *virasana* pose with hands joined. Copper coins with Garuda seated in *sukhasana* posture were issued by Venkatadri alone as well as in association with his brother Tirumala.

Vrishabha and Nandi

Vrishabha (standing bull) or *Nandi* (couchant bull), is the carrier of Lord Siva. The word *Vrishabha,* or *Vrushabha,* has two meaning the ordinary meaning is the bull, the *vahana* of Lord Siva. As the *vahana* of Lord Siva, Vrishabha can also be taken as the symbol of a realized soul or *Jivanmukta.*

An idol of *Nandi* is found in almost all Siva temples. The bull is seated in front of the sanctum sanctorum (*garbhagirha*) and is the guard or door keeper. The image of *Nandi* is often placed outside the sanctum sanctorum facing the Linga or the image of Siva. Sometimes the images are found on the corners of the sanctuary of Siva temples. Nandishvara is another name of Lord Siva.

The usage of standing bull on the coins started during the period of Bukka I and this was continued by Harihara II, Devaraya I, Devaraya II, Ramachandra, Krishnadevaraya and Venkatadri. Couchant bull is depicted on the coins of Devaraya, Srirangaraya II and Venkata II.

Summary

Vijayanagar rulers should be given the credit of depicting Gods and Goddesses extensively on their coinage. Their coins thus show variety and are attractive. Their coinage was subsequently adopted by succeeding dynasties. Coins issued prior to Vijayanagar rule were monotonous with only the royal emblem being depicted on the coins. Gods and Goddesses were rarely depicted on the coins.

The personal preference of the kings is shown in the choice of the Gods and Goddesses used in their coins. Vijayanagar rulers, especially the Sangama rulers seem to have promoted both Saivism and Vaishnaivism although the Tuluva and Aravidu rulers seem to have preferred Vaishanaivism.

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13

COINS OF THE FEUDATORIES OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

The Vijayanagar empire was divided for the purposes of administration into a number of provinces called *rajyas*. They were also kown as *mandalams*[1] and *nadus*[2]. Examples of rajyas include Barakur rajya, Malerajya, Udayagiri rajya. In many inscriptions the term *sime, sthala, valita* and *vinthe* replaced the term *rajya.*[3] The empire was composed of many principalities and divisions and some of these were administered through feudal vassals, who claimed to have enjoyed a semi-independent status. They were known by different names, *samanta, nayaka, dandanayaka, mandalesvara, raja, maharaja, udaiyar*.

The Nayankara system was a grant of land by the king to a nayaka or palegar on condition of military service. The system of administration of the empire through feudatories had developed into the nayankara system. All the land belonged to the king and he distributed the lands to the dependants, and those who held lands from the king were called nayakas[4] and their territory was known as *amaram* or *nayakkattanam*. The nayakas had to pay a fixed annual financial contribution to the central government. They had to provide for the defence of the kingdom and for that purpose had to maintain a fixed number of foot-soldiers, horses and elephants, which they had to provide the government during the times of war.

Nuniz mentions some of the governors of the kingdom, the revenues they held, the names of their provinces and their military and financial obligations to the imperial government (Table 13.1).[5]

Noboru Karashima studied the Nayankara system during Vijayanagar period by reading the Vijayanagar inscriptions in south and north Arcot districts.[6] He summarizes his findings as follows:

Sl. No.	Name of the Governor	Annual Income	Military Contribution	Revenue Contribution
1	Salvanayqye, the minister of Achyutaraya, Governor of Charamodel (Coromandel), Nagatan (Nagapatnam), Tangor (Tanjore), Bomgrin(?), Dapatao (Devipatnam), Truguel (Tirukoil), Caullim (Kayal) bordering Ceylon	11,00,000 *pardaos*	30,000 foot 3,000 horses 30 elephants	One-third of income
2	Ajaparcatimapa, governor of Hudogary (Udayagiri), Condovim (Kondavidu), Penagundim (Penukonda), Codegaral (Kanigiri, Nellore district), Cidaota (Siddhaout, Cuddapah district)	8,00,000 *pardaos*	25,000 foot 1,500 horses 40 elephants	3,00,000 *pardaos*
3.	Gapanayqye, lord of Rosyl (perhaps Rachol near Goa)	6,00,000 *pardaos*	20,000 foot 2,500 horses 20 elephants	1,50,000 *pardaos*
4	Lepapayque, lord of Vimgapur (Bankapur)	3,00,000 *pardaos*	20,000 foot 1,200 horses 28 elephants	80,000 *pardaos*
5	Narvara, lord of Ondegema	4,00,000 *pardaos*	12,000 foot 600 horses 20 elephants	2,00,000 *pardaos*
6	Chinapanayque, lord of the land of Calay (possibly Kalale in Mysore)	3,00,000 *pardaos*	10,000 foot 800 horses	1,00,000 *pardaos*
7	Crisnapanaque, lord of Aosel (?)	20,000 *pardaos*	700 foot 500 horses	7,000 *pardaos*
8	Bajapanarque, lord of Bodial (perhaps Budehal in Mysore)	3,00,000 *pardaos*	10,000 foot 800 horses 15 elephants	10,000 *pardaos*
9	Mallapanarque, lord of the country of Avaly (Avati in Kolar district)	15,000 *pardaos*	6,000 foot 400 horses	5,000 *pardaos*
10	Adapanayque, lord of the country of Gate (perhaps Gutti)	3,00,000 *pardaos*	8,000 foot 800 horses 30 elephants	40,000 *pardaos*
11	Bajapanaque, lord of Mumdoguel (Mudkal)	4,00,000 *pardaos*	10,000 foot 1,000 horses 50 elephants	1,50,000 *pardaos*

Table 13.1: Governors, their territory, annual income and annual contribution

1. The nayakas during the Vijayanagar period enjoyed close relationship with the king, though this varied in degree. Their requests to him for tax remissions or land grants are frequently referred to in the inscriptions. The legitimacy of their territorial rule was initially derived from the authority given by the king.

2. Nevertheless, they differ from their fourteenth and fifteenth century predecessors in one important point, which is in having a certain territory

(*sirmai*) as their *nayakkattanam*. The intruding Vijayanagar warriors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were important officials such as governors of a region (*mahamandalesvara* and *mahapradhani*), generals (*dannaik* or *dandanayaka*) on a campaign, or revenue officers called *adhikari*, and were administrators more than anything else. They did not have their own clear-cut territory such as *nayakattanam*. In this sense, the sixteenth-century nayakas displayed more clearly the characteristics of a feudal lord. This feudal relationship was not only between the king and nayakas, but also among the nayakas themselves, between superiors and inferiors, which is also well reflected in the reference to the merit given by the underlord for the benefit of the lord. At the bottom level, this feudal hierarchy embraced the big landholders in a village.

3. Another important factor shaping the characteristics of the nayakas during this period is the condition of the economy, particularly of trade. The development of trade, which had started probably in the thirteenth century, continued all through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in this region. Nayakas in the sixteenth century responded to this development by drawing artisans and merchants into the framework of their rule, giving encouragement and protection to them. For example Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka, is known as the builder of the port town, Krishnapattinam, the modern Porto Novo, at the mouth of the river Vellar.

4. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the nayakas strength and independence increased further. We have a good number of inscriptions which record tax remissions by Kondama Nayaka, but there is no single instance among them in which he refers to the king in the earlier manner of expressing fidelity. His inscriptions reveal to us the way in which he controlled production in his large territory. The image we get of him and that of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka, in whose presence a title was granted to a certain local chief by the intralocal assembly of the Mudalis, parallels the image of a feudal of medieval Europe or Japan.

5. The image of sixteenth-century nayakas in north and south Arcot districts as a group who are granted the territory and legitimacy of their rule by the king on the one hand, and who strengthened their power through the accumulation of certain rights over the management of production in local areas on the other, may allow us to regard them as feudal lords and to interpret the sixteenth century in south India as the period when feudal relations developed to a certain degree at least in one region.

Although Karashima, summarises the above findings based on his study of inscriptions in south and north Arcot districts, his findings can be extended to other areas of Vijayanagar rule.

Thus an important feature of the Vijayanagar provincial administration was the existence of a number of feudatories who seemed to have enjoyed a semi-independent status and, who became independent toward the end of the sixteenth century after the central power weakened.

Number of Feudatories

As regarding the number of feudatories who were there at any point in time, we have the account of Nuniz who says "In this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have so the King settles for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of September."[7]

Noboru Karashima, analysed the Vijayanagar inscriptions in Tamilnadu and has come up with the names of 1030 nayaks.[8] Rajendra Prasad and Bose Babu have identified 433 nayakas after going through the inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh.[9]

The nayakas played a vital role in the state revenue collection. There are a number of sixteenth and seventeenth century inscriptions which record the remission of *pattadai-nulayam, kanikkai,* and others by nayakas in favour of artisans, merchants, and cultivators. Whether the remission or collection of these taxes by the nayakas was made on their own accord, implying it was a local affair having nothing to do with the state, or whether it was made by the nayakas under the orders by the state is not clear. It is more likely that the centre would have only given the guidance on the annual revenue to be paid and an overall framework of dos and don'ts leaving the nayakas to decide as to how they would generate the revenue.

Minting of Coins by Feudatories

Having seen the power vested with the vassals in the previous paragraphs, the question to be answered is whether these local governors/nayakas were authorized to mint coins? We have already seen that the nayakas played a vital role in the state revenue collection.

Caesar Fredrick who visited Vijayanagar in 1567 states, "when we came into a new Governor's country, as every day we did, although they were all tributaries to the king of Besenagar, yet everyone of them stamped a several coin of copper, so that the money that we took this day would not serve the next."[10]

However the gold coins were issued only in certain cities under the control of king as observed by Barbosa (c. 1516), "it (pagoda) is coined in certain cities of this kingdom of Narasinga and throughout all India they use this money, which passes in all those kingdoms."[11]

Paes throws light on the gold coin thus: "And if any one does not know what a pardao is let him know that it is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck anywhere in India except in this kingdom; it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin is current all over India. Each pardao as already said is worth three hundred and sixty reis."[12]

These observations by Barbosa and Paes suggest presence of mints controlled by the state. The state controlled mints were responsible for minting the gold coins (and silver coins).

Thus the nayakas were vested with power to mint copper coins. However the minting of the gold coins and silver coins were controlled by the state. Whether the power to mint the copper coins was given to all the nayakas is not clear. Also whether the nayakas were empowered to mint these coins in their name is also not clear. We have only few instances during the fifteenth and sixteenth century where we encounter coins issued in the name of the nayakas.

However when the nayakas became powerful as did the Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee nayakas towards the end of sixteenth century, they started issuing coins in their names.

Coins Issued by the Feudatories under Vijayanagar Power

We confine our study in this chapter only to the issue of the coins by feudatories who did not become independent. The coinage of the nayakas who were subordinates to the Vijayanagar rulers as well those who were indecisive as to which way to lean (whether to be aligned or become independent) are included in the study. We consider that the Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee nayakas were loyal to the Vijayanagar at least till the end of Venkata II's rule

although there were instances where some of them tried to become independent but were made to submit later. Their coins are dealt in a later chapter.

The coins issued by the feudatories fall into the following category:

1. Those issued in the name of the ruling king. These coins were presented in the *Catalogue of Coins* chapter. We may consider that all the copper coins issued outside of Hampi region were issued by the nayakas in the name of the Vijayanagar king.

2. Those issued in the name of the nayakas.

3. Anonymous issues, the names of the issuer is either not clear or not present on these coins. When the power of the empire began to decline at various points in time, the nayakas were unwilling to acknowledge the supremacy of the central power. At the same time they wanted to play safe thus the reverse of the coins do not either contain legend or does not clearly mention the name of the issuer. These coins should be dated between mid 16th and mid 17th century AD.

Mints

The initial attempt to identify the mints of Vijayanagar was made by A.V. Narasimhamurthy.[13] Based on contemporary works and inscriptions, he identified coin terms which had the name of a place associated with it and inferred that these would indicate the existence of the mints at those places. Example includes Tirupati hana, Mangaluru gadyana, Tadapatri honnu indicating mints at Tirupati, Mangaluru and Tadapatri respectively. He also identified Nellore and Madurai as places where mints existed based on the letters *ne* and *ma* seen on some coins. It is not clear as to which coins he was referring to. The study did not also indicate as to which coins were minted in the identified mints. Notwithstanding these limitations, his initial identification of mints did provide the starting point for the present author in the identification of mints.

Michael Mitchiner, makes mention of the mints and the likely coins that would have got minted in these mints. However, the list provided is not complete and the mints identified are mostly confined to the Tamilnadu region.[14]

The inscriptions do not provide us any indication of the existence of the mints. Excepting for the terms that we see associated with the coins, no other information is available from the inscriptions or contemporary works.

Thus it is difficult to identify all the mints that existed and even the present study has the limitation of not being complete.

The initial list provided by A.V. Narasimhamurthy and Mitchiner was used for identification of mints. Places like Nellore, Gutti, Adoni and Penukonda where Vijayanagar coins were not noticed were removed from the list. The author has been collecting Vijayanagar coins for more than 15 years and this experience has been used during the identification of the mint. Information about the administration during Vijayanagar rule as provided by various authors was also used during identification. This included the Rajyas and the headquarters of Rajya/Uchavadi.[15] Some of the work that contained information on production centres and markets during Vijayanagar was also used.[16] The details of various transaction that have taken place as stated in various inscriptions was also used during the identification of the mints. The following assumptions were made:

1. The mints are likely to be in places where there were more transactions recorded. This is because commerce would have dictated the need for money which in turn would have provided a need for a mint.
2. The mints are likely to be in places where the nayakas were powerful.
3. The mints are likely to be in places where the find spot of the coins have been noticed through personal observation. Note that single hoard was not considered adequate to declare a mint due to the mobility of the coins.
4. Mints are likely to be in places near production centres/markets as well as headquarters of Rajya/Uchavadi.

Based on the assumptions, all the information was correlated with coins seen at various places and the possible mint places identified.

Table 13.1 shows the mints and the coinage.

Mint	Metal	Possible coin types minted
Vijayanagara (Hampe)	Gold, Silver, Copper	Varahas, half varahas, quarter varahas of all rulers of Sangama and Tuluva and possibly Tirumalaraya's varaha and half-varaha. Pana of Devaraya II. All silver taras. Copper coin of Devaraya II with the legend *praudhadevaraya.* Copper tara coins of Tuluva rulers and the Aravidu rulers - Tirumala and Venkatadri.

Gerosoppe	Silver, Copper	Silver and copper coins of Nagire rulers.
Mangaluru	Gold	Alupa coinage as feudatories of Vijayanagar - kathari ankusa gadyana, kati gadyana.
Barakuru	Gold	Alupa coinage as feudatories of Vijayanagar - kathari ankusa gadyana, kati gadyana.
Nagar	Gold	Coins of Ikkeri nayaks as feudatories of Vijayanagar.
Chitradurga	Gold	Durgi pagoda, Virarayi pana – minted by Chitradurga nayaks.
Sira	Gold	Durgi pagodas, pana minted by Harathi chiefs.
Channapatna	Copper	Coins of Jagadevaraya and Ankusaraya.
Mysore	Copper	Coins with corrupt Nagari legend, chequered reverse type.
Tirupati	Gold	Double varaha of Krishnadevaraya. Pana (Virarayi type called Tirupati pana, Narpanam, Panam).
Tadapatri	Gold	Coins with Venkatesa on obverse and reverse legend *srivenkatesvarayanamah.* Copper tara coins of Sriranga I and Venkata II.
Madurai	Copper	Copper coins of Devaraya with elephant on the obverse and *a* on top and Kannada legend *pratapa devaraya*. Coins of Lakhanna Danayaka. Copper coins of Mallikarjuna. Coins of Madurai nayaks as feudatories of Vijayanagar.
Tirukkogarnam (Pudukkotai)	Gold	Panam (of Virarayi type – gulikai panam, rasi panam, sakra panam and adura panam).
Thanjavur Tiruchirapalli Tiruvarur	Copper	Bull type coins of Harihara II, Devaraya I with Nagari legend. Coin with legend *vijayabukaraya*. Elephant type coins of Devaraya II with *rayagajagandabherunda* and other titles. Coins with two elephants and elephant and bull on the obverse and with reverse legend *sri pratapa devaraya.* Coins of Thanjavur nayaks as feudatories of Vijayanagar.

Kunrattur	Copper	Coin of Harihara I with Hanuman and Garuda on obverse and legend *hari hara* on reverse. Coin of Bukka I – with legend *srivirabhupatiraya* and *srivi(ra)bhupati.* Coins with bull on obverse and a dagger and Kannada legend *sri devaraya* or *sri krishnaraya* on the reverse. Coin with elephant on the obverse and a dagger and Kannada legend *sri krishnaraya* on the reverse. Boar type coins with legend *ralava tirumalaraya* and *sritirumalaraya*. Coins with different devices and reverse legend *sritirulamaraya*.
Gingee (Senji)	Copper	Coin of Harihara I with Hanuman on the obverse and *ha* on reverse. Coins of Harihara I with Hanuman on the obverse and conch, discus and *ha* on reverse. Coins of Bukka I with bull on obverse and conch, discus and *bu* on reverse. Coins of Gingee nayaks as feudatories of Vijayanagar.
Tiruvannamalai	Copper	Coins types with twin hill with legend or other devices on the reverse.
Padaividu	Copper	Coins with bull on obverse and a dagger and Kannada legend *sri devaraya* or *sri krishnaraya* on the reverse.

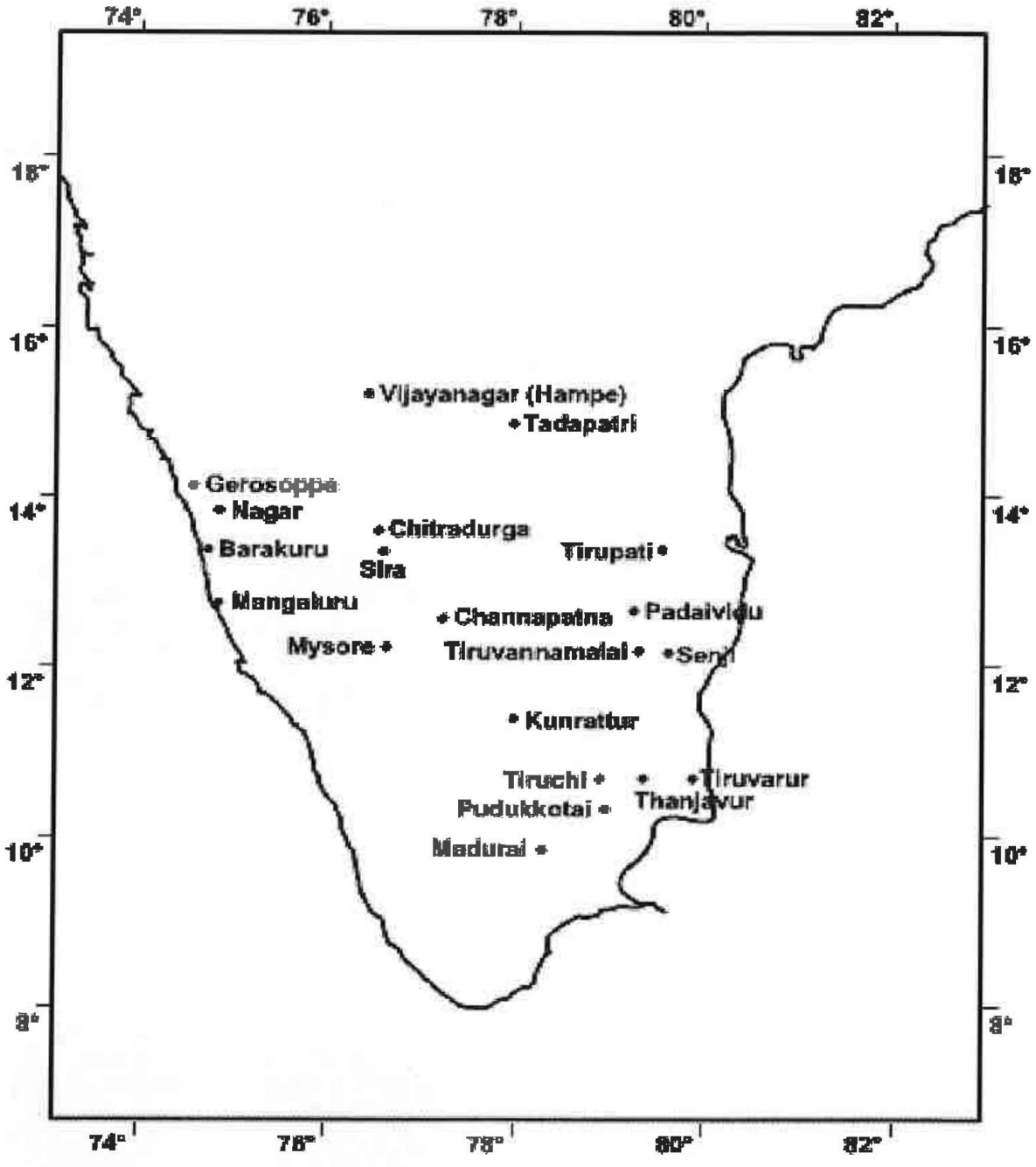
Table 13.1: Mints during Vijayanagar rule

Coins of Feudatories

Alupas

South Kanara came to form a part of the Vijayanagar empire within a decade of its birth. The earliest inscription is of Bukka I which is dated AD 1345. Vijayanagara inscriptions are by far the largest number amongst the epigraphs in south Kanara. Dated records of all emperors who are known to have ruled over the empire have been found in the region. It is likely that the Alupas had lost all their military initiative and continued to rule only under imperial sufferance.[17]

The Alupas continued their coinage with two fish on the obverse and legend *sri pandya dhanamjaya* on the reverse. However, the coinage was modified to include the initial letters of the Vijayanagar rulers either on the obverse or on the reverse. Some of the coins contain the dagger (*kathari*) or elephant goad (*ankusa*) and thus these coins may be the kathari ankusa gadyana referred to in the inscriptions.[18-19] These coins may also be the kati gadyana stated in the inscriptions from S. Kanara, as the coins are mostly debased and come with various gold content. The coins seemed to have circulated even after the exit of Alupas from the scene as can be seen from the mention of kati gadyana in the inscriptions of Tuluva rulers.



Vijayanagar Mints

363. Gold, 3.64 gm, 15 mm, R, Peruduru, Udupi taluk.

Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and dagger (*kathari*) on the right.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya*; letter *bu* is seen between *ndya* and *dhanam*.

Coins observed mostly in base gold; weight ranging from 2.9 gm to 3.5 gm (thus kati gadyana with different gold fineness).

364. Gold, 2.94 gm, 15 mm, R, Barakuru, Kollegal, Mangaluru.

Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and *damaru* on the right; *kathari* at the bottom and Nagari letter *bu* flanked by sun and moon at the top.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya*.

Coins observed mostly in base gold; weight ranging from 2.94 gm to 3.1 gm (thus kati gadyana with different gold fineness).

365. Gold, 3.55 gm, 14 mm, R, Barakuru, Mangaluru.

Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and dagger (*kathari*) on the right.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya*; letter *ha* is seen between *ndya* and *dhanam*.

Coins observed with silvery appearance, 60% gold content, 80% gold content and weight variations from 3.55 gm to 3.64 gm (thus kati gadyana with different gold fineness).

366. Gold, 3.6 gm, 14 mm, R, Barakuru.

Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and *damaru* on the

right; *ankusa* at the bottom.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya*; letter *ha* is seen between *ndya* and *dhanam*.

These coins are generally of base gold.

367. Gold, 3.42 gm, 15 mm, R, Tirthahalli, Barakuru.

Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and *damaru* on the right; *kathari* at the bottom and Nagari letter *ha* flanked by sun and moon at the top.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya*.

These coins are generally of base gold.

368. Gold, 2.92 gm, 15 mm, R, Barakuru.

Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and *damaru* on the right; *kathari* at the bottom and Kannada letter *ha*(?) flanked by sun and moon at the top.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya*.

Coins observed mostly in base gold.

369. Gold, 2.9 gm, 14 mm, R, Karkala.

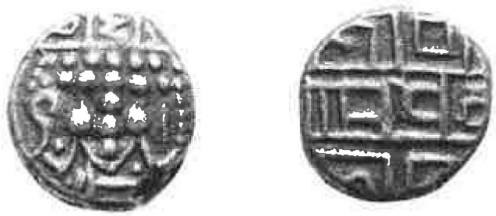
Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and *damaru* on the right; *kathari* at the bottom and Kannada letter *de* flanked by sun and moon at the top.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya*.

Coins observed mostly in base gold.

370. Gold, 2.9 gm, 14 mm, R, Saklespura.

Obv. Two stylized fish flanked by conch on the left and *damaru* on the right;

kathari at the bottom and Nagari letter *de* flanked by sun and moon at the top. Rev. Nagari legend *sri pa / ndya dha na m / ja ya.* Coins observed mostly in base gold.	

We see from the above that most coins are observed in base gold and we see variations in gold content and weight. These possibly are the kati gadyana referred in inscriptions.

Coins with letter *bu* may be attributed to Bukka I, those with letter *ha* may be attributed to Harihara II and the coins with letter *de* may be attributed to Devaraya I.

Lakhanna Danayaka

A copper coin with an elephant on the obverse and the Kannada legend *kha na / da na ya / ka ru* on the reverse is very frequently encountered even these days from Madurai region. On top of the elephant is the Kannada letter *la*. This type is similar to Devaraya II's elephant type.[20]

Two officers of the Vijayanagar empire were governing in Madurai during the reign of Devaraya II. Their names were Lakhanna and Madanna. The *Pandyan Chronicle* gives forty seven years as the period of governorship. Thus the time of their rule lasted more than the time of rule of Devaraya II. The chronicle also mentions that Pandyas were enthroned by Lakhanna at Madurai and those enthroned were the sons of a concubine.[21] It is also stated that Lakhanna dandanayaka was holding both the offices of the prime minister and commander of the army under Devaraya II. He was also part of the expedition to Ceylon as stated in the inscription at Tirumanikkuli in Caddalore taluk of S. Arcot.[22]

371. Copper, 3.6 gm, 16 mm, C, Madurai. Obv. Elephant moving right; above Kannada letter *la*. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with rules between the lines *kha na / da na ya / ka ru*.	

The letter on the obverse combined with the legend on the reverse would read *lakhanadanayakaru*.

Koneririayan

Koneririayan was a feudatory under the Vijayanagar during the later half of 15th century and ruled from Kanchipuram in the north to Tiruchirappalli to the south. He seemed to have wielded considerable power during 1485 to 1495. One of his inscription mentions him as a feudatory of Praudadevaraya. However during the Saluva rule, he may have declared independence as we do not see the mention of the Vijayanagar rulers. His coins may have been issued during this time. We do not encounter his inscriptions from 1496. We have the famous Koneririayapuram in Thanjavur district named after him.[23]

The attribution of the coins bearing the Tamil legend *koneririayan* to this king was made by K. Subramanian.[24]

The coins are characterized by the presence of a bull on the obverse and the Tamil legend *koneririayan* on the reverse. Some die variations as well as size variations have been noticed.

372. Copper, 3.2 gm, 15 mm, C, Thanjavur, Karur. Obv. Bull standing left; dagger in front. Rev. Tamil legend with rules between the lines *ko / ne ri / ra ya n*.	
373. Copper, 3.3 gm, 15 mm, R, Thanjavur, Karur. Obv. Bull standing left; a battle-axe above. Rev. On either side of a dagger, three-line Tamil legend *ko / ne ri / ra ya n*.	
374. Copper, 1.4 gm, 12 mm, R, Thanjavur, Karur. Obv. Bull standing left; a battle-axe above. Rev. On either side of a dagger, Tamil legend *ko / ne ri / ra ya n*.	

Nagire Chiefs

The chiefs of Nagire ruled over parts of north Kanara district with Gerosoppe as their capital. They ruled as the feudatories of Vijayanagar empire and associated themselves with the dynastic name Saluva. Inscriptions of the Nagire chiefs found in south and north Kanara districts claim that Nagire-rajya and its capitals Gerosoppe and Nagire were situated in the Tulu country.

375. Silver, 1.6 gm, 9 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Lion to left with fore paw raised and the tail curled up on its back; dagger above. Rev. Three lines with interlinear rules; in the first line sun, three dots and crescent moon. In the next two lines Kannada legend *sa lu va / ma la.*	
376. Silver, 1.9 gm, 9 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Similar. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri / ra ja dhi / ra ja*; above crescent moon and sun on either side of *sri.*	
377. Silver, 0.7 gm, 9 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Lion as above. Rev. Nagari legend *ra ja di / ra ja.*	
378. Silver, 1.5 gm, 10 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Elephant to left; dagger above. Rev. Nagari legend in two lines *ra ja di / ra ja.*	

379. Silver, 1.9 gm, 9 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Lion to left with fore paw raised and the tail curled up on its back; dagger above. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *sri de va / ra ya*.	
380. Silver, 1.2 gm, 10 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Within a linear circle, an elephant to left; sun and moon above. Rev. Within a linear circle, Nagari legend in two lines *de va / (ra ya)*.	
381. Silver, 0.2 gm, 7 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Lion to the left. Rev. Kannada letter *ra*.	
382. Copper, 11 gm, 20 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Back view of Gandabherunda flying upwards carrying an elephant in each of its beak and claws. Rev. In an ornamental square, three-line Kannada legend *sri / sa lu va / ma la*.	
383. Copper, 10.4 gm, 20 mm, R, Gerosoppe. Obv. Back view of Gandabherunda flying upwards carrying an elephant in each of its beak and claws. Rev. In an ornamental square, two-line Kannada legend with rule between the lines *sri sa lu / va ma la*.	

Coin with legend Rajadhiraja is well known and was observed in the Kartoka hoard by P.L. Gupta and was attributed to the Chola king Rajadhiraja. The coins with legend *rajadhiraja* were assigned during the period Harihara I to Harihara II while those with legend *sridevaraya* were assigned to Devaraya by Mitchiner.

It is now generally accepted by the numismatists that owing to the fact that these coins are always found in the North Kanara region, these are the issues of the Nagire chiefs who ruled from there. Also the presence of the dagger on the coins can be explained to the titles such as *Tribhuvana Karthari* and *Karthari Trinetra* borne by the Nagire chief Saluva Malla and his successors.

One may be tempted to attribute coin with legend *devaraya* to the Vijayanagar rulers Devaraya due to the presence of an elephant on the obverse. However since this type was found along with the other types in the Gerosoppe hoard in 2003, which clearly belong to the chiefs of Nagire, this coin can be assigned to the Nagire rulers.[25]

Keladi Nayaks

The state of Keladi, later known as Ikkeri, rose during the sixteenth century and at its zenith, the Keladi state extended up to Goa in the north and Cannanore in the south and bounded within itself the present districts of Hassan and Shimoga. For nearly 250 years, the rulers of Keladi successfully kept at bay the aggressive tendencies of the Portuguese and Bijapur Sultans.

The state was founded by Chaudappa Nayaka (1499-1515) who was employed by Krishnadevaraya. He was succeeded by Sadasiva Nayak (1515-1546) who was the most powerful ruler of the dynasty. He is known to have routed the rulers of Kalburgi, Bidar, Bankapur and the Tulu and Kerala countries. Besides military exploits, Sadasiva is credited with having made grants to Brahmin and Veerasaiva mathas and constructing forts at Chandragiri, Keladi and Kasargod. The successors of Sadasiva continued as feudatories of Vijayanagar before Venkatappa Nayaka I (1582-1629) became independent in 1613. This most successful ruler of Keladi extended his kingdom on all sides and repulsed the Bijapur forces, defeating Bhairadevi of Gerusoppa and checked Portuguese expansion.

Shivappa Nayaka (1645-1660) one of the distinguished rulers of Keladi helped Srirangaraya of Vijayanagar and also extended his territory till Mangalore. Chennamma assumed the reigns in 1671 and had series of

encounters with Wodeyars of Mysore. When Shivaji's son Rajaram entered Keladi territory, Chennamma offered him protection. The kingdom of Keladi was annexed by Hyder Ali in 1763.

384. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, C, Hosanagar, Shimoga. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated; Siva holds a trident in one of his right hand and an antelope in one of his left hand. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri / sa da si / va.*	
385. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, C, Hosanagar, Shimoga. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated; above them is a stylized *prabhavali.* Rev. Similar. However the legend is of later period.	
386. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm, C, Hosanagar, Shimoga. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated. Rev. Similar.	

The three coins listed above are what are popularly known as *Ikkeri varaha.* These appear to have been minted over a long period as can be seen from the palaeography of the reverse legend.

387. Gold, 0.35 gm, 6 mm, C, Hosanagar, Shimoga. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated. Rev. Three-line Nagari legend *sri / sa da si / va.*	

The above coin is an example of *Ikkeri fanam.* Several variations exist. The legends vary from single letter to partial letters to complete legend as above. These fanams were issued over a long period.

Nayaks of Chitradurga

Timmanna Nayaka was granted the governorship of Chitradurga during 1562 as a reward for military service. He was succeeded by his son Obana Nayaka, who took the name Madakeri Nayaka. In 1602, Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka succeeded his father. His son Madakeri Nayaka II succeeded in 1652 and maintained a prosperous realm. Chikkanna Nayaka, a brother of Madakeri Nayaka II was enthroned in 1676. Linganna Nayaka, another brother of Madakeri Nayaka II, succeeded in 1686. He was also called Madekeri Nayaka III. Hiri Madakeri Nayaka, Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka II and Madakeri Nayaka IV followed him. Haidar Ali took over possession of Chitraduriga in 1779.

The gold pagodas of nayaks of Chitradurga was based on the Durgi pagoda of Krishnadevaraya. The reverse legend was maintained as *sri pratapa krishnaraya* but the legend became cruder and the palaeography changed with time. The nayaks of Chitradurga also issued a pana of Virarayi type, where on the reverse is seen an inverted *pa*. This was discussed in an earlier chapter on Virarayi Pana.

Jagadevaraya

Jagadevaraya was a Palegar of Channapatna. He had ordered his brother and prime minister Ankusaraya to oppose Chamaraja Wodeyar V when the later had ordered his subordinate Bettada Arasu to proceed against Jagadevaraya's ally of Nagamangala. In a battle fought during AD 1618, Ankusaraya obtained victory over the Mysore Wodeyar's army. The coins of Jagadevaraya is described below.[26,27]

388. Copper, 2.7 gm, 15 mm, R, Channapatna, Mysore. Obv. Gandabherunda. Rev. Within a square, two-line Kannada legend *ja ga / de va*.	
389. Copper, 2.7 gm, 15 mm, R, Channapatna, Mysore. Obv. Gandabherunda. Rev. Two-line Kannada legend *ja ga de / va ra ya*.	

390. Copper, 2.7 gm, 15 mm, R. Obv. Two *ankusa*. Rev. Kannada legend *ya ma / di ja ga / de va.*	

Ankusaraya

Ankusaraya was the prime minister of Jagadevaraya whose coins were described above. He obtained victory over Bettada Arasu in the siege of Nagamangala. However he was defeated by Mysore Chamaraja Wodeyar.

391. Copper, 3.3 gm, 14 mm, R, Mysore. Obv. Two *ankusa;* sun and moon. Rev. Three-line Kannada legend with interlinear rules *a m ku sa / ra ya va / de ya lu.*	

Harathi Chiefs

The Vijayanagar king Venkatapatiraya during his reign gave Harathikote (located near Hiriyur taluk), Sira and Nidugal provinces as grant to Rangappa Nayaka. Siddha Nayaka, Immadi Kanchappa Nayaka, Hugahati Nayaka, Saraja Krishnappa Nayaka, Saraja Rangappa Raja, Saraja Kasturi Rangappa Raja and Saraja Mummadi Rangappa Raja seem to have ruled after Rangappa Nayaka. We find that the Harathi chiefs assumed the title of Raja from about AD 1621. In a grant given in Kalavabagi village, we find that Saraja Rangappa Raja calling himself king of kings.

The coins of the Harathi chiefs have come to notice through the Sangenahalli hoard.[28]

392. Gold, 0.35 gm, 6 mm, S, Sangenahalli. Obv. Lion to right with fore paw raised. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *sri sa / ra ja.*	

393. Gold, 0.35 gm, 6 mm, R, Sangenahalli. Obv. Lion to right with fore paw raised. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend, each letter enclosed in a square *sri sa / ra ja*.	
394. Gold, 0.35 gm, 6 mm, XR, Sangenahalli. Obv. Lion to left with fore paw raised. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *sri sa / ra ja*.	No Image

The precise attribution of these coins to a ruler is difficult since many of the Harathi chiefs had the title *Saraja*. Other than the above coins, the Sangenahalli hoard also yielded Durgi pagodas which indicate that the Harathi chiefs also minted Durgi pagodas.

Provincial Issues

Other than the coins discussed above, where the legends were clear and precise attribution to a ruler was possible, there are coins whose attribution to an issuer is difficult. These coins contain either only devices on both sides or have corrupt legend.

These probably were issued after the Talikota war when some of the chieftains may not have accepted the overlordship of the Vijayanagar rulers at the same time did not want to openly admit it. This possibly includes the early Mysore rulers. These types would have continued to be issued till Mysore had its own coinage including the coinage of Haidar Ali and Tipusultan.

I. Coins appear to be of early type (mid 16th century?)

These coins are reported from Sirsi and Sagar. The weight standard and the devices used suggest that the coins would have been issued during 1565-1600.

395. Copper, 9.9 gm, 19 mm. Obv. Lakshmi Narayana seated. Rev. Within an ornamental square, an eight petalled lotus.	
396. Copper, 9.7 gm, 18 mm. Obv. Yali to right. Rev. Gandabherunda.	
397. Copper, 10.8 gm, 19 mm. Obv. Lion to left; above legend not clear. Rev. Gandabherunda.	
398. Copper, 5.6 gm, 16 mm. Obv. Lion to left. Rev. Lotus.	
399. Copper, 2.8 gm, 14 mm. Obv. Couchant bull to right. Rev. Lotus.	

II. Coins from Tiruvannamalai

The coins of Tiruvannamalai were first described by Sewell.[29] The twin hills design is a characteristic feature of the coins and illustrates the location of the town among the hill dominating the town. Much of the section of the temple at Tiruvannamalai was constructed during the period of Krishnadevaraya. According to one inscription, Achyutappa Nayak of Thanjavur completed at the Tiruvannamalai temple, the building of the gopuram, which had been begun by Krishnadevaraya.

The provincial coinage was possibly introduced after Krishnadevaraya had lavishly endowed the temple at Tiruvannamalai. The similarity of the Garuda on one of the type with those of Krishnadevaraya is striking. Most of these coins weigh around 6 gm and the same weight standard is seen on some of the coins of Muthu Venkatappa Nayak and Adil Shahi from Gingee.

The coins are found at Tirucoilur and Karur.

400. Copper, 6.3 gm, 18 mm, R. Obv. Couchant bull to right. Rev. Legend *a ru / na dri.*	
401. Copper, 6.4 gm, 16 mm, R. Obv. Twin peaked hill. Rev. Legend *a ru / na dri.*	
402. Copper, 5.3 gm, 17 mm, C. Obv. Garuda in *virasana* posture right. Rev. Twin peaked hill.	
403. Copper, 2.3 gm, 13 mm, R. Obv. Bull moving right. Rev. Twin peaked hill.	
404. Copper, 1.8 gm, 11 mm, S. Obv. Hill. Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend.	
405. Copper, 3.3 gm, 13 mm, S. Obv. Hill. Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend.	

The Nagari legend on the above coin has been restored as *sri venka / tapa prata / pa raya* by Mitchiner.[30] The reading appears to be incorrect.

III. The following coins have on the reverse within a *prabhavali* (or a lined circle) an *ankusa* and other indistinct objects or only *ankusa*.

406. Copper, 4.0 gm, 16 mm.
Obv. Standing Garuda.

407. Copper, 3.0 gm, 16 mm.
Obv. Geometrical pattern.

408. Copper, 3.9 gm, 17 mm.
Obv. Garuda in *virasana* to right.

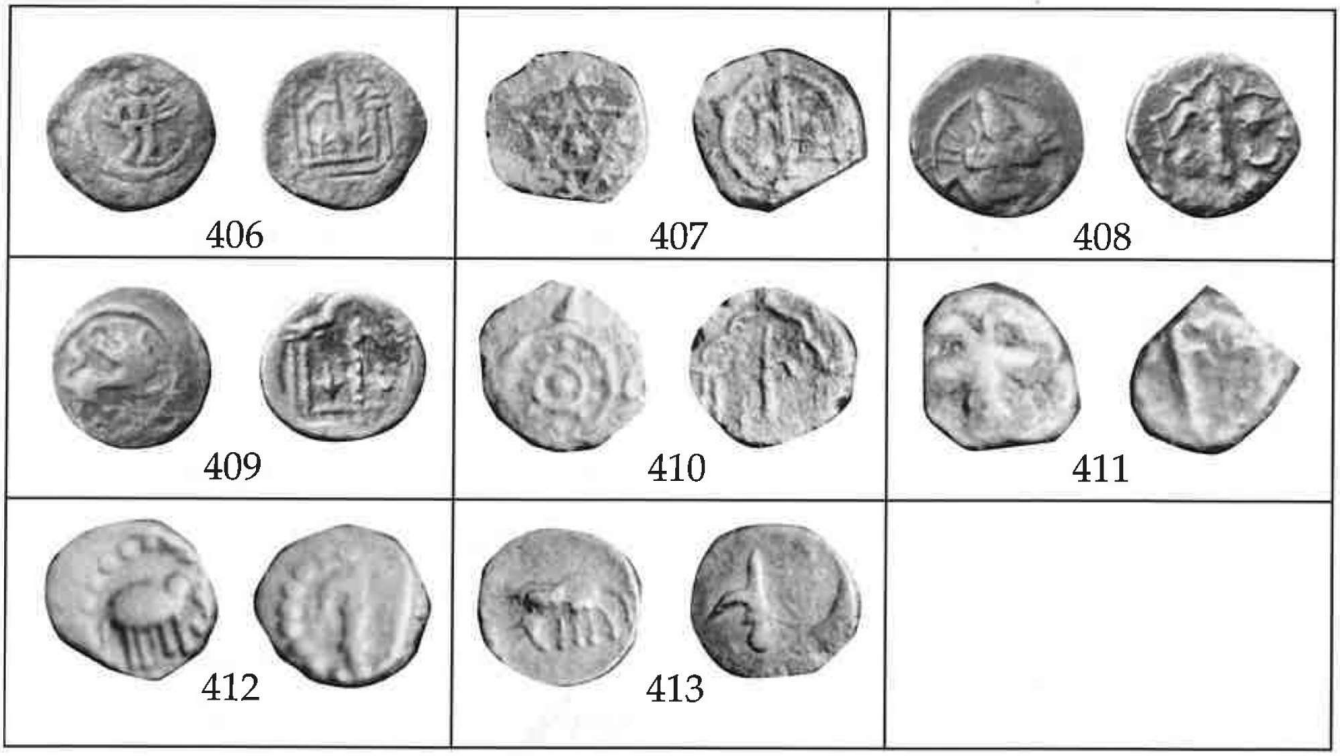
409. Copper, 3.2 gm, 16 mm.
Obv. Yali?

410. Copper, 1.5 gm, 11 mm.
Obv. Discus.

411. Copper, 3.3 gm, 12 mm.
Obv. Gandabherunda.

412. Copper, 2.8 gm, 10 mm.
Obv. Elephant to right.

413. Copper, 1.4 gm, 11 mm.
Obv. Elephant to left.



IV. The following coins have on the reverse within a square divided into four equal parts, object appearing like Kannada letter *ra*. The coins are from Mysore and surrounding areas.

414. Copper, 3.8 gm, 18 mm.
Obv. Horse to right.

415. Copper, 3.1 gm, 19 mm.
Obv. Gandabherunda.

V. Reverse: Parallel lines intersecting each other; at the intersection a star symbol. The coins are from Mysore and surrounding areas.

416. Copper, 2.8 gm, 16 mm.

Obv. Half human (Sarasvati?) half bird (peacock).

417. Copper, 3.3 gm, 16 mm.

Obv. Within a prabhavali a deity.

418. Copper, 2.3 gm, 16 mm.

Obv. Rider on elephant (the reverse has no star at the intersection).

VI. Reverse: Parallel lines intersecting each other; within the square formed due to intersection pellets. The coins are from Mysore and surrounding areas.

419. Copper, 3.0 gm, 18 mm.

Obv. Figure seated.

420. Copper, 3.5 gm, 18 mm.

Obv. Peacock.

421. Copper, 3.1 gm, 18 mm.

Obv. Within a *prabhavali*, Lord Ganesa.

VII. Small dumpy coins with device on both sides on most coins. The coins are from north Karnataka.

422. Copper, 1.5 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Lion (?) left.

Rev. Within a rectangle, Kannada numeral 10.

423. Copper, 1.5 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Peacock to left.

Rev. Lotus.

424. Copper, 1.5 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Peacock to right.

Rev. Geometrical pattern.

425. Copper, 1.6 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Gandabherunda.

Rev. Lotus.

426. Copper, 1.4 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Vaishnavite symbol.

Rev. Lotus.

427. Copper, 1.5 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Horse to left.

Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend.

428. Copper, 1.1 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Couchant bull to left.

Rev. Within a square, Kannada numeral 1.

429. Copper, 1.4 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Garuda standing.

Rev. Corrupt Nagari legend.

430. Copper, 1.4 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Couchant bull to left.

Rev. Lotus.

431. Copper, 1.6 gm, 9 mm.

Obv. Elephant to left.

Rev. Nagari letter *sri*.

432. Copper, 1.4 gm, 8 mm.

Obv. Gandabherunda.

Rev. Geometrical figure.

VIII. Reverse: Within a rectangle border in two lines indistinct objects.

433. Copper, 3.3 gm, 16 mm.

Obv. Lakshmi seated.

434. Copper, 3.4 gm, 16 mm.

Obv. Half swan (?) Sarasvati.

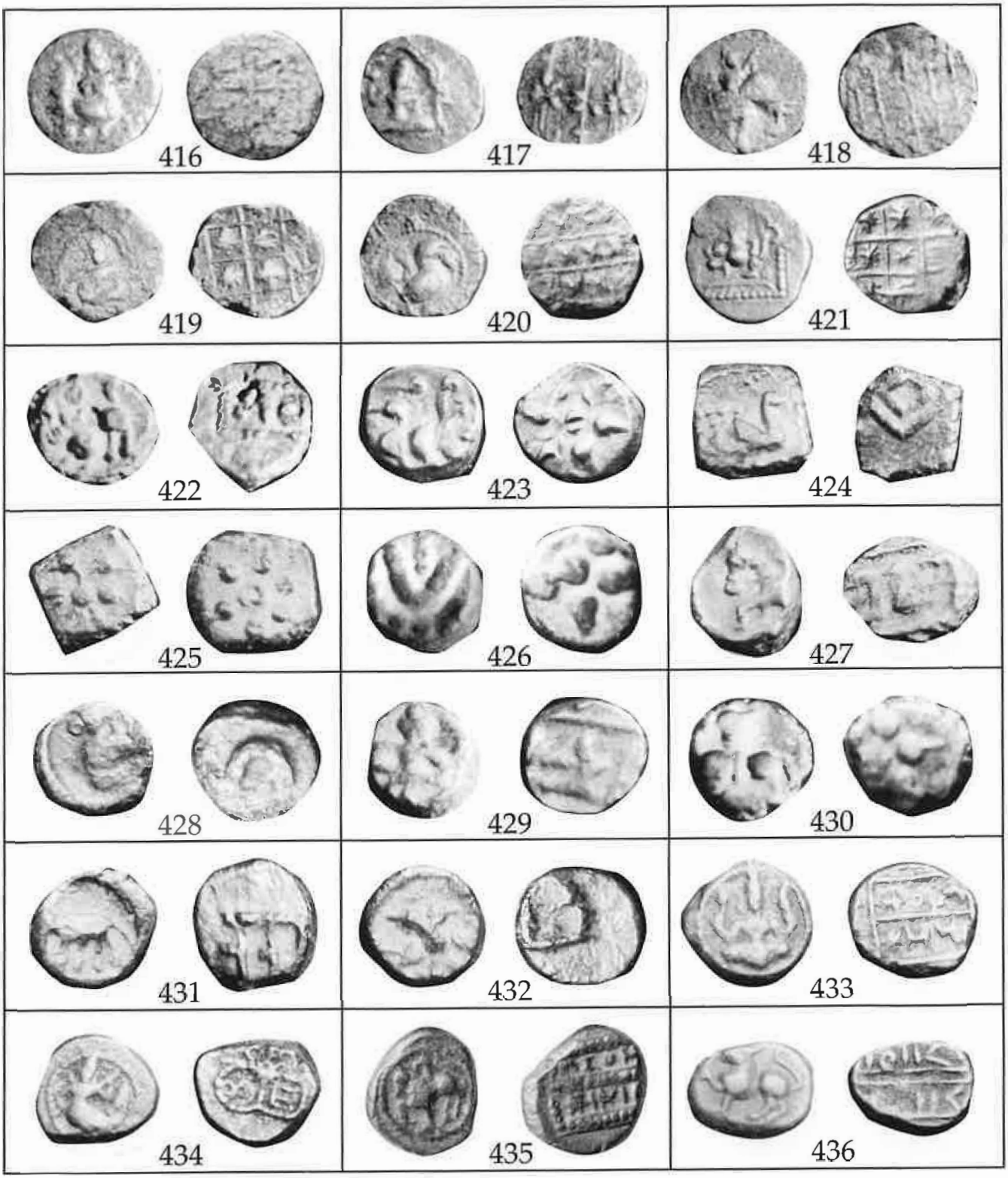
435. Copper, 3.4 gm, 16 mm.

Obv. Horse to left; above the horse a flag (?).

IX. Reverse: Corrupt legend. The coins are from various parts of Karnataka.

436. Copper, 3.1 gm, 14 mm.

Obv. Lion with fore paw raised.



437. Copper, 3.1 gm, 15 mm.
Obv. Lion with fore paw raised.

438. Copper, 3.7 gm, 14 mm.
Obv. Mythical bird.

439. Copper, 2.0 gm, 12 mm.
Obv. Lion looking back.

440. Copper, 3.1 gm, 10 mm.
Obv. Half swan (?) Sarasvati.

441. Copper, 3.0 gm, 16 mm.
Obv. Half swan (?) Sarasvati.

442. Copper, 1.7 gm, 17 mm.
Obv. Half swan (?) Sarasvati.

443. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm.
Obv. Horse to left.

444. Copper, 2.9 gm, 13 mm.
Obv. Bird looking back.

445. Copper, 1.7 gm, 11 mm.
Obv. Peacock to left.

446. Copper, 2.2 gm, 12 mm.
Obv. Bull to left.

447. Copper, 3.1 gm, 17 mm.
Obv. Ganesa.

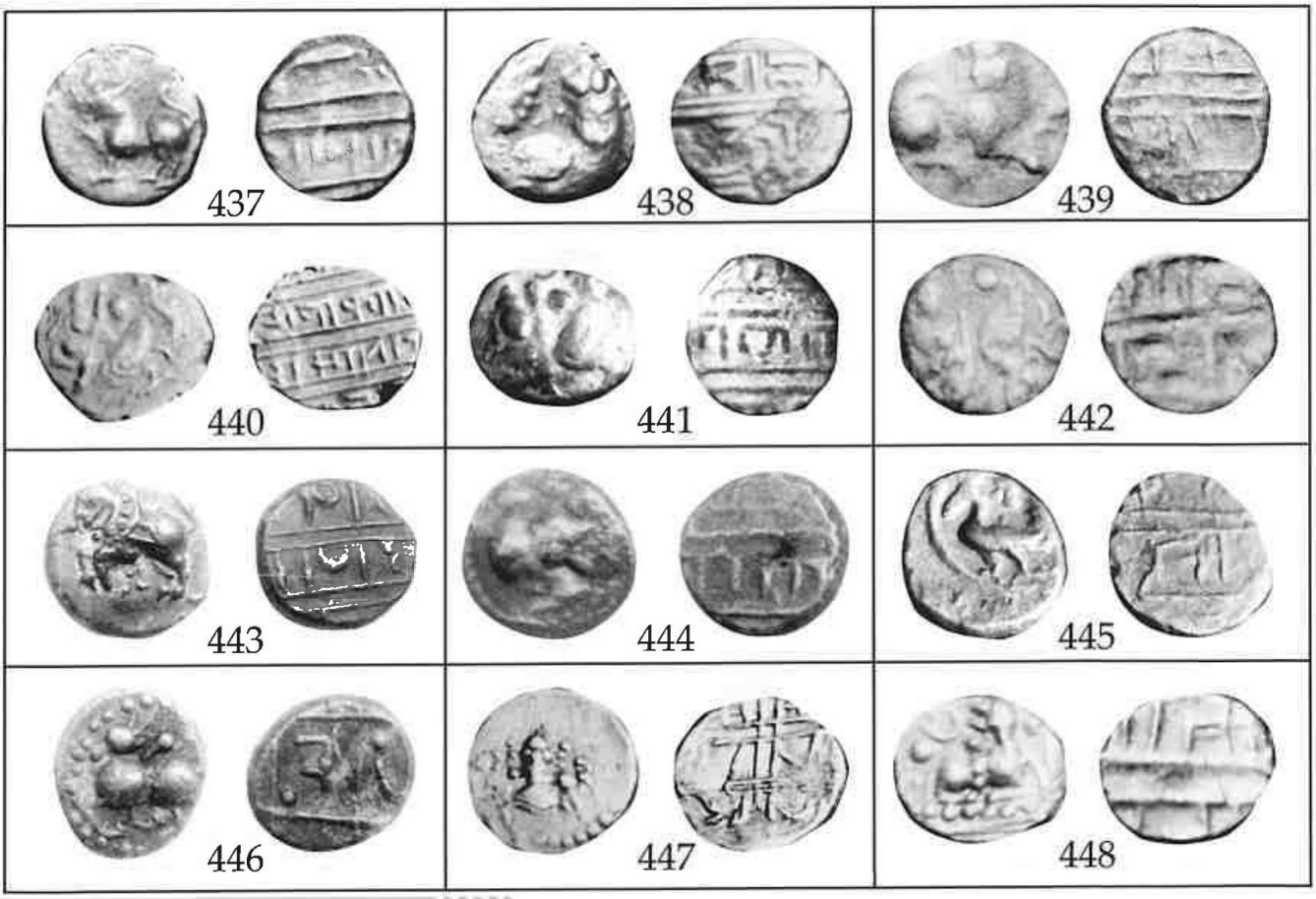
448. Copper, 1.1 gm, 10 mm.
Obv. Couchant bull to right.

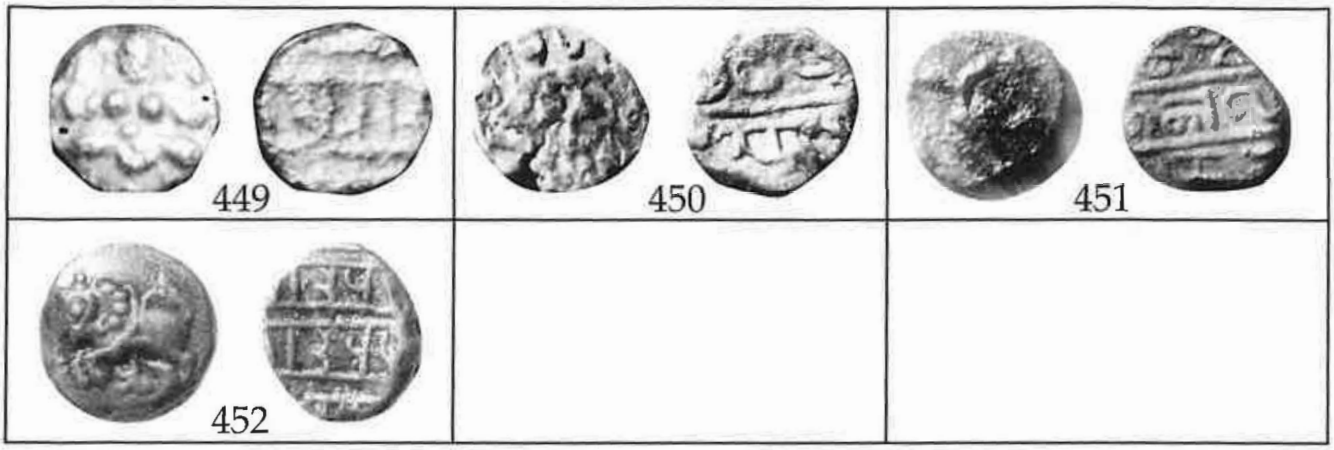
449. Copper, 0.5 gm, 8 mm.
Obv. Lakshmi.

450. Copper, 2.5 gm, 12 mm.
Obv. God and Goddess seated.

451. Copper, 1.8 gm, 12 mm.
Obv. Gandabherunda.

452. Copper, 2.8 gm, 14 mm.
Obv. Horse to left.





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14

COINS OF THE NAYAKS OF MADURAI, THANJAVUR AND GINGEE

The nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee were an important element during the Vijayanagar rule from the days of Krishnadevaraya. These nayakas first started as feudatory kings and then turned into independent Sovereign. Here we study the inscribed coins of the nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee and look at their coinage during the time they were feudatories of Vijayanagar.

Coins of Madurai Nayaks

The nayakship of Madurai was founded during the days of the Vijayanagar king Krishnadevaraya and confirmed by his successor Achyutaraya. Krishnadevaraya appointed Nagama to govern the Pandya country but when Nagama turned against him, his son Visvanatha was sent to conquer him. Story goes that Visvanatha conquered and imprisoned his father and when the king wanted to know as to what he wanted for his valor, Visvanatha asked for the release of his father.

Visvanatha Nayak (1529-1564) was throughout his rule, a loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagar king Sadasivaraya and the defacto ruler Ramaraya. His loyalty ensured the expansion of his kingdom to encompass Madurai, Kongu and Ramnad. The Pandyas were his feudatories. Trichy was exchanged for Vallam with the Sevappa Nayak of Thanjavur. Visvanatha's son Krishnappa Nayak (1564 - 1572) succeeded his father. During his period the battle of Talikota was fought and it appears that Krishnappa and his general Ariyanatha Mudaliyar took part in the battle. Virappa Nayak (1572-1595) succeeded his father on the throne towards end of 1572. His rule was a period of peace and prosperity. Krishnappa Nayak II (1595-1601) the eldest son of Virappa was a

loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagar king Venkata II. Muthu Krishnappa Nayak (1601-1609) was engaged in peaceful work and orderly administration. He made Sadaika Deva Udaiyan Sethupati, as incharge of Marava country. Muthu Virappa Nayak (1609-1626) joined Jaggaraya the traitor, in the war of succession that followed the death of Venkata II. However Yachama Nayak and Raghunatha Nayak of Thanjavur defeated them. The invasion of Raja Wodeyar of Mysore was repulsed. He changed the capital from Madurai to Trichy. Tirumala Nayak (1623-1659) was an outstanding ruler. He succeeded his brother Muthu Virappa and during his reign, waged many wars, with some successes and others where he had to retreat. He had to fight against Mysore for long period. Together with his general Ramappayan, he chased the Mysore forces of Chamaraja into their territory. A war was also fought against Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar of Mysore. He won against Sadaika Deva II Sethupati who revolted against him. Tirumala Nayak is also known for his contribution towards art and literature. Muthu Virappa II (1659) ruled for a short period and was succeeded by Chokkanatha Nayak (1659-1682). Chokkanatha fought against Vijayaraghava Nayak of Thanjavur and captured Vallam but only for a short period. He fought an unsuccessful battle against Tirumalai Sethupati, who was exempted from paying tribute and highly honoured by Tirumala Nayak. Muthu Virappa Nayak III (1682-1689) inherited only part of the territories; the others lost during the period of Chokkanatha to Mysore, Thanjavur Marathas and the Sethupatis. He was succeeded by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha who was only three months old. Mangamma the grandmother of Chokkanatha became the regent. Her regency synchronised with Aurangzeb's quest for conquest of south. Vijayaranga Chokkanatha and his wife Minakshi (1732-1736) ruled after Mangamma's regency. Minakshi was held captive and put in prison by Chanda Sahib, the Nawab of Arcot. She ended her life by consuming poison and with that the rule of Madurai Nayaks came to an end.

Visvanatha Nayak

As to Visvanatha's attitude towards the empire, he was always as faithful a subject to the Vijayanagar empire as he was when he went to wage a war against his father. In 1535, during his first viceroyalty, he is called an officer of Achyuta, and though already a king he calls himself an agent of Sadasiva. In 1558, he is called also the agent of Ramarajadeva Maharaja. In 1560, he makes a gift of taxes on looms for the merit of the same Aliya Ramarajayyan. A 1561 record mentions the name of Aliya Ramaraya.

Visvanatha Nayak issued coins in his name. Some of these coins style himself as a Pandya possibly to proclaim himself as the successor of Pandyas. The large crescent seen on at least one of his coin, traces his lunar lineage.

453. Copper, 3.4 gm, 18 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Standing figure; in the right field is a lampstand. Rev. Two fish; legend around *pa..vi sva na ta n.*	
454. Copper, 4.1 gm, 18 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Standing figure. Rev. Two fish separated by a sceptre; legend around *vi sva na ta n.*	
455. Copper, 4.0 gm, 16 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Standing figure. Rev. Two fish separated by a sceptre; legend around *vi va na ta n.*	
456. Copper, 2.5 gm, 15 mm, R, Madurai, Kaveripattinam. Obv. Two fish; above Tamil legend *pa n / di ya n.* Rev. Tamil legend *vi sva / na ta / n;* above a large crescent moon.	
457. Copper, 2.7 gm, 15 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Two fish separated by a sceptre. Rev. Tamil legend *vi sva / na ta / n;* above a large crescent moon.	

458. Copper, 5.5 gm, 16 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Couchant bull to left; above sun and moon. Rev. Legend in Tamil and Telugu *vi / si va; vi* is in Tamil and *si* and *va* are in Telugu.	

Krishnappa Nayak

Krishnappa deputed his general Ariyanatha Mudaliyar to take part in the battle at Raksas-Tagadigi. There is difference of opinion on his participation in the war. Krishnappa Nayak acquiring the overlordship of South is stated in the Velangudi plates of Venkata II.

459. Copper, 3.2 gm, 15 mm, XR, Karur. Obv. Balakrishna seated. Rev. Tamil legend *ki t ta / na pa / na ya* (*k ka r*).	

The similarity of the obverse with that of Durgi pagoda can be noticed. The similarity of the reverse legend with that of Krishnappa Nayak of Gingee can also be noted. The coin may also belong to Krishnappa Nayak of Gingee.

460. Copper, 2.2 gm, 11 mm, R, Karur. Obv. Fish; above legend not clear. Rev. Telugu legend *kri shna ppa.*	

Muthu Krishnappa Nayak

461. Copper, 1.9 gm - 4.9 gm, 14 mm -16 mm, C, Madurai, Karur. Obv. Telugu legend *ti ru ve / m ga ta.* Rev. Telugu legend *mu du / kri shna.*	

462. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, R, Madurai. Obv. Bull moving right. Rev. Telugu legend *mu du / kri shna.*	
463. Copper, 3.4 gm, 15 mm, XR, Madurai. Obv. Telugu legend *mu du / kri shna.* Rev. Conch and discus; below Nagari legend *va ra ha.*	

Coins of Thanjavur Nayaks

The Thanjavur nayak rule was established during the reign of the Vijayanagar king Achyutaraya in 1532. Chinna Sevappa (1532-1590) was the founder of this dynasty. He was an able Dalwai during the days of Krishnadevaraya and had helped Achyutaraya in ascending the throne. He had married Murthiamba the younger sister of Achyutaraya's wife Tirumalamba. The war of Talikota was fought during his period. Sevappa was attracted towards Saivism and notable amongst his effort is the Rajagopuram in Tiruvannamalai temple. Achyutappa Nayak (1562-1614) succeeded him. Achyutappa jointly ruled with his father Sevappa Nayak during 1562 to 1590. Achyutappa made his son Raghunatha Nayak, the virtual ruler in AD 1600. Govinda Dikshitar was an able minister during his period. Raghunatha Nayak (1600-1630) was an outstanding ruler amongst the Thanjavur nayaks. He won many battles. Notable among them are the win over Portuguese in Ceylon. He is also noted for putting down Jaggaraya the usurper who grabbed power by putting Vijayanagar emperor Sriranga to death. The nayaks of Madurai and Gingee assisted Jaggaraya. However, Raghunatha with Yachama Nayak won even as the nayaks of Madurai and Gingee ran for their lives. Raghunatha was a great devotee of Rama. He was a poet and composed many kavyas, prabhandas in Telugu and Sanskrit. He was also a great musician and invented a veena known as Raghunathendra Veena. Raghunatha's son Ramabadra Nayak was a yuvaraja during 1628 to 1630 but died at a young age. Raghunatha's another son Vijayaraghava Nayak ascended the throne during 1631. He ruled till 1673. He was killed in an encounter with the Bijapur and the Ekoji of Marathas. The Thanjavur nayak's rule came to an end after 140 years of rule.

Sevappa Nayak

464. Copper, 3.4 gm, 16 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Couchant bull to left; in front of the bull a lamp; above crescent and sun. Rev. Nagari legend *si va pa / ra ya*. The first letter is *si* and not *che* as observed on other types. Also the second letter is not a clear *va*.	
465. Copper, 1.8 gm, 13 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Bull to left; above sun and moon. Rev. Nagari legend *che va pa / na ya / (ka)*.	
466. Copper, 2.3 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. On the left field is a figure standing. An inverted conch is in the middle. The coin appears to have been struck on an existing coin. Rev. Nagari legend *cha va pa / ra ya*.	

Achyutappa Nayak

467. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm, R, Kumbakonam. Obv. Two animals (bull and elephant) facing each other; the heads of both are shown joined. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *a chyu / pa ra ya*.	

468. Copper, 2.4 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Bull to left. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha / ta*.	
469. Copper, 2.9 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Bull to left. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha ta* enclosed in a rectangle.	
470. Copper, 2.5 gm, 12 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. God and Goddess. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha ta*.	
471. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm, R, Tiruvayar. Obv. Rama standing facing. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha / ta pa*.	
472. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Gandabherunda. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha / ta*.	
473. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm, R, Papanasam. Obv. *Hamsa* to right. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha / ta pa*.	
474. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm, R, Mannargudi. Obv. Cow pouring milk on Sivalinga. Rev. Telugu legend *sri a / cha ta*.	

475. Copper, 1.2 gm, 12 mm, R, Kumbakonam. Obv. Lord Kartikeya seated on peacock. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha / ta*.	
476. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Vaishnavite symbol flanked by conch and discus. Rev. Telugu legend *a chu ta*.	
477. Copper, 2.0 gm, 13 mm, XR, Thanjavur. Obv. Lord Varuna. Rev. Telugu legend *a cha / ta*.	

Raghunatha Nayak

478. Copper, 2.5 gm, 14 mm, R, Tiruvayaru. Obv. Within an ornamental design, standing deity. Rev. Three-line Tamil legend *vi / cha ya ra / gu na* (*tha*).	
479. Copper, 2.6 gm, 14 mm, R, Papanasam. Obv. Within an ornamental design, Lakshmi seated. Rev. Three-line Tamil legend *vi / cha ya ra / gu na tha*.	
480. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm, S, Kumbakonam. Obv. Siva and Parvati seated. Rev. Two-line Nagari legend *ra ghu / na tha*.	

481. Copper, 4.7 gm, 15 mm, S, Thanjavur. Obv. Lakshmi and Narayana seated. Rev. Two-line Telugu legend *ra ghu / na dha*.	
482. Copper, 3.3 gm, 14 mm, S, Tiruvayaru. Obv. Discus. Rev. Telugu legend *sri ra ghu na dha*.	
483. Copper, 3.1 gm, 15 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. A dancing figure (?). Rev. Two-line Tamil legend *ra gu / na tha*.	
484. Copper, 2.8 gm, 14 mm, S, Thanjavur. Obv. Gandabherunda. Rev. Telugu legend *ra ghu na da*.	
485. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm, R, Aiyampettai. Obv. Garuda standing facing. Rev. Telugu legend *ra ghu na da*.	
486. Copper, 2.9 gm, 12 mm, R, Mannargudi. Obv. A seated figure (king ?). Rev. Four-line Tamil legend *vi chai / ya ra ya / ra gu na / tha n*.	
487. Copper, 1.1 gm, 9 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Ganesa. Rev. Nagari legend *ra ghu na dha*.	

488. Copper, 1.6 gm, 10 mm, C, Thanjavur. Obv. Standing Rama, Sita and Lakshmana. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ghu na dha.*	
489. Copper, 1.4 gm, 10 mm, C, Thanjavur. Obv. Standing Rama, Sita and Lakshmana. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ghu na dha.*	
490. Copper, 1.4 gm, 10 mm, C, Thanjavur. Obv. Standing Rama and Sita. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ghu na dha.*	
491. Copper, 2.4 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Horse to right. Rev. Legend *sri ra ghu na dha.*	
492. Copper, 3.4 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Hanuman moving to left. Rev. Telugu legend *ra ga / na da.*	
493. Copper, 3.0 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Elephant moving right. Rev. Telugu legend *ra ga / na da.*	
494. Copper, 3.0 gm, 14 mm, R, Kumbakonam. Obv. Sivalinga. Rev. Tamil legend *ra ya / ra gu na / tha n.*	

495. Copper, 3.2 gm, 14 mm, R, Aduthurai. Obv. Sivalinga with garland. Rev. Legend *ra ya ra / gu na / tha n.*	
496. Copper, 2.8 gm, 13 mm, R, Mannargudi. Obv. Cow pouring milk on Sivalinga. Rev. Tamil legend *vi / cha ya ra / gu na tha.*	
497. Copper, 2.9 gm, 13 mm, R, Tranquebar. Obv. Sivalinga with garland; in the left field is king. Rev. Legend *(vi cha) ya ra / gu na tha / n.*	
498. Copper, 2.7 gm, 14 mm, R, Tiruvarur. Obv. Siva seated on *vrishaba.* Rev. Legend *(ra) ya ra / gu na / tha n.*	
499. Copper, 3.0 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Lord Kartikeya seated on peacock. Rev. Legend *vi chai (ya)/ ra ya ra / gu na tha / n.*	
500. Copper, 2.5 gm, 13 mm, R, Tiruvarur. Obv. Lord Kartikeya standing facing. Rev. Legend *vi chai ya ra ya ra gu na tha n.*	

501. Copper, 3.1 gm, 14 mm, R, Nagapattinam. Obv. Hanuman standing facing. Rev. Legend *ra ya ra / gu na (tha) / n.*	
502. Copper, 1.1 gm, 12 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Conch. Rev. Legend *ra gu / na da.*	
503. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Ganesa seated facing. Rev. Legend *ra ghu / (na da).*	

Vijayaraghava Nayak

504. Copper, 2.1 gm, 11 mm, S, Thanjavur. Obv. Standing figure of Rajagopalaswamy. Rev. Nagari legend *sri vi ja ya ra ga va.*	
505. Copper, 1.4 gm, 10 mm, S, Thanjavur. Obv. Garuda. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra / ga va.*	
506. Copper, 2.4 gm, 14 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Gajalakshmi. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ga va.*	
507. Copper, 1.5 gm, 11 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Standing Vishnu. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ga va.*	

508. Copper, 1.3 gm, 9 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Figure with its left arm raised. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ga va*.	
509. Copper, 0.8 gm, 13 mm, R, Thanjavur. Obv. Standing figure. Rev. Crude Nagari legend *sri ra ga va*.	
510. Copper, 1.7 gm, 13 mm, R, Mannargudi. Obv. Conch and discus; an object similar to *ankusa* held by Rajagopalaswamy in the middle. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ga va*.	
511. Copper, 1.3 gm, 13 mm, R, Tiruvayaru. Obv. Gandabherunda. Rev. Nagari legend *sri ra ga va*.	
512. Copper, 6.0 gm, 16 mm, XR, Thanjavur. Obv. Twin hills as on the coins of Tiruvannamalai. Rev. Within a linear and dotted circles, Telugu legend around a spherical object *vi ja ya (ra ga va)*.	
513. Copper, 6.5 gm, 16 mm, XR, Kumbakonam. Obv. Peacock to right holding a snake on its beak; above a hill as on the coins of Tiruvannamalai. Rev. Telugu legend around a spherical object *vi ja ya ra ga va*.	

514. Copper, 5.7 gm, 16 mm, XR, Thanjavur. Obv. God and Goddess. Rev. Around a twin-peaked hill, Telugu legend *vi ja ya ra ga va.*	

Coins of Gingee Nayaks

Surappa Nayak (1544-1567) of Gingee was contemporary of Ramaraya the defacto ruler for Sadasivaraya and might have taken part in the battle of Talikota in 1565. Surappa nayak also helped Tirumala to repulse the Muhammadan forces.

His successor Krishnappa Nayak I (1567-1578) was the contemporary of both Tirumalaraya and his successor Sriranga I. He was a loyal feudatory of both the kings. Kondamma Nayak (1580-1593) was the son of Krishnappa Nayak I. He is mentioned in the inscriptions during the period of Sriranga I and Venkata I and hence should have been the successor of Krishnappa I. His son Krishnappa Nayak II succeeded him in 1594. Plenty of information is available from the letters of Nicholas Pimento who came to Chidambaram and then to Gingee in 1599. He mentions that the Gingee fort was one of the strongest and richest forts bigger than many forts in Portugal except Lisbon. He also mentions that there were subordinate chiefs subject to the authority of Krishnappa Nayak and they were the kings of Tiruvadigai and Salavacha. Besides these two, the Nayak of Vellore, Lingamma was also the subject of Krishnappa. One of the Jesuit letters of 1606 states that among the three nayaks of the Tamil country, the Gingee was the most powerful. Although Krishnappa initially accepted the overlordship of Venkata, the Vijayanagar ruler, he seemed to have revolted later which forced Venkata to send an army against him. Krishnappa was captured prisoner but was released by the influence of Raghunatha Nayak of Thanjavur. In reciprocation, Krishnappa gave his daughter in marriage to Raghunatha Nayak. Muthu Venkatappa Nayaka, the grandson of Krishnappa II, was loyal feudatory of Vijayanagar empire. Gingee was occupied by Muhammad Adil Shah, the Bijapur Sultan, in 1655.

Kondamma Nayak

515. Copper, 1.8 gm, 12 mm, XR, Gingee. Obv. Ganesa seated facing. Rev. Tamil legend *kondappa*.	
516. Copper, 2.2 gm, 13 mm, XR, Tiruvannamalai. Obv. Lord Varuna. Rev. Tamil legend *kondappa*.	

Krishnappa Nayak II

517. Copper, 2.1 gm, 15 mm, R, Gingee. Obv. In a linear circle, a saint seated in padmasana with folded hands. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
518. Copper, 3.1 gm, 14 mm, R, Tirucoilur. Obv. Back view of Gandabherunda flying upwards. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
519. Copper, 2.9 gm, 14 mm, R, Tirucoilur. Obv. Hanuman moving to right. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
520. Copper, 3.3 gm, 14 mm, R, Tirucoilur. Obv. Garuda in virasana pose to right. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	

521. Copper, 3.0 gm, 15 mm, R, Tirucoilur, Karur. Obv. Lakshmi seated on *hamsa*. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
522. Copper, 3.1 gm, 15 mm, R, Tirucoilur, Karur. Obv. Lakshmi seated. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
523. Copper, 2.2 gm, 15 mm, R, Tirucoilur. Obv. A lady seated with a mirror(?) on her hand; her face turned to her left. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
524. Copper, 2.5 gm, 16 mm, R, Tirucoilur, Karur. Obv. Peacock to left. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
525. Copper, 2.0 gm, 14 mm, R, Tirucoilur, Karur. Obv. Peacock to right. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
526. Copper, 2.6 gm, 16 mm, R, Tirucoilur. **527**. Copper, 1.9 gm, 13 mm. Obv. Half-human, half-lion/tiger figure (*Vyagrapadha*?) to left. Rev. Telugu legend *krishnappa*.	
528. Copper, 3.4 gm, 11 mm, R, Tirucoilur. Obv. Bull to left. Rev. Tamil legend *kittinappa nayakkar*.	

Muthu Venkatappa Nayak

529. Copper, 1.9 gm, 14 mm, XR, Gingee. Obv. Bull to left. Rev. Two-line legend in Telugu, Nagari and Tamil; rule in between the line *ve(m) ka / ta pa*.	
530. Copper, 1.9 gm, 14 mm, R, Tiruvannamalai. Obv. Vishnu standing facing. Rev. Two-line legend in Telugu, Nagari and Tamil; rule in between the line *ve(m) ka / ta pa*.	
531. Copper, 5.6 gm, 16 mm, R, Tiruvannamalai. Obv. Standing Vishnu. Rev. Three-line Telugu legend *ve m ka / ta pa na / yu du*.	
532. Copper, 4.8 gm, 16 mm, R, Gingee. Obv. Lakshmi and Narayana seated facing. Rev. Three-line Telugu legend *ve m ka / ta pa na / yu du*.	
533. Copper, 6.3 gm, 17 mm, R, Gingee. Obv. Vishnu with Sridevi and Bhudevi. Rev. Three-line Telugu legend *ve m ka / ta pa na / yu du*.	

534. Copper, 3.6 gm, 16 mm, R, Gingee. Obv. Discus. Rev. Three-line Telugu legend *ve m ka / ta pa na / yu du*.	
535. Copper, 3.9 gm, 16 mm, C. Obv. Standing Vishnu. Rev. Telugu legend *ve (m) ka / ta pa*.	
536. Copper, 2.8 gm, 13 mm, XR, Kallakurichi. Obv. Lakshmi seated facing. Rev. Tamil legend *ve ng / ka ta pa*; in the third line is Telugu *ve*.	
537. Copper, 4.7 gm, 15 mm, R, Gingee. Obv. Dagger flanked by sun and crescent. Rev. Telugu legend *sri / ve m ka*.	
538. Copper, 3.3 gm, 12 mm, C. Karur. Obv. Standing Vishnu. Rev. Two-line Telugu legend with rule separating the line *ve m ka / ta pa*.	
539. Copper, 3.5 gm, 12 mm, C, Karur. Obv. Standing Vishnu. Rev. Telugu legend *ta pa* (part of *ve m ka ta pa*). Several die variations of the above two coins exist.	

540. Copper, 1.7 gm, 10 mm, S, Tirucoilur. Obv. Standing Vishnu. Rev. Two-line Telugu legend with rule separating the line *ve m ka / ta pa*.	
541. Copper, 4.0 gm, 15 mm, C, Kumbakonam. Obv. Standing Vishnu; two lamp stands on either side. Rev. Telugu legend *ve m ka / ta pa*.	
542. Copper, 3.7 gm, 14 mm, S, Tirucoilur. Obv. Muralidhara playing flute; cows are seen watching. Rev. Telugu legend *ve m ka / ta pa*.	
543. Copper, 3.0 gm, 13 mm, S, Karur. Obv. Dancing Krishna. Rev. Telugu legend *ve m ka / ta pa*.	

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15

CHRONOLOGY OF VIJAYANAGAR COINS

Based on the discussions in the previous chapters, we arrive at the following chronology.

1336-1356: Beginning of the Vijayanagar rule. The gold coinage of Harihara I from Karnataka is based on the *danava murari banta* series of Nidugal Cholas. The usage of royal insignia (*Varaha*) as device on coins is avoided. The coins are mostly in base gold indicating that the economy is still at its infant stage. His silver coinage is based on the tara series of Hoysalas. On the obverse we find Hanuman and the reverse has either Kannada or Nagari *ha*. Harihara I's copper coinage from Kongu consists of Garuda and Hanuman device with reverse legend *hari hara*. His copper coins from Gingee have on the obverse a Garuda and on the reverse is the Nagari letter *ha* along with conch and discus. Another type from Gingee has Hanuman on the obverse and Kannada letter *ha* on the reverse. One more type with Saradula device is minted from Kongu region.

1356-1377: Bukka I adopts the gold coinage and silver coinage of Harihara I. His gold and silver coins from Karnataka have Hanuman on the obverse and the Nagari legend *sri vira bukaraya* or Kannada letter *bu*. His copper coinage from Kongu also carries the Hanuman device but the Nagari legend on the reverse is *sri virabhupatiraya*. A bull type copper coin is struck from Gingee.

The Alupas are allowed to continue their coinage with minor modifications. The kathari ankusa gadyana and kati gadyana struck from Mangaluru and Barakuru is modified to include Nagari *bu* either on the obverse or reverse.

1377-1404: Harihara II initially adopts the gold coins struck by his predecessors. His varaha contains on the obverse Hanuman and on the reverse the Kannada

legend *sri virapratapa harihara*. However he makes modification to the gold coins and introduces half varahas with Siva-Parvati, Lakshmi-Narayana, Brahma-Sarasvati and Lakshmi-Narasimha devices. Silver coins are modified and the obverse carry Nagari letter *ha* and Kannada numeral 2 ½ and the reverse the legend *harihara*. Bull type copper coins are struck in Tamilnadu. These carry the legend *pratapaharihara* on the reverse.

Alupas continue to mint kathari ankusa gadyana and kati gadyana adding Nagari / Kannada *ha* either on the obverse or reverse.

1404-1406: Virupaksha I and Bukka II do not issue coins. The existing coins of Harihara II are in circulation.

1406-1422: Devaraya I and later Devaraya II continue to issue the half varahas of Lakshmi-Narayana and Siva-Parvati types. Devaraya I also introduces the varaha standard in these types. The silver tara coin of Harihara II is adopted with change in legend on the reverse to *devaraya*. The bull type coin of Harihara II in Tamilnadu is also adopted with change in legend on the reverse to *sri devaraya* and *sri pratapadevaraya*. Further bull types with Kannada legend *sri devaraya* and Nagari legend *nilakamta* are introduced in Tamilnadu. Bull type coins with Nagari legend *sri pratapadevaraya* are introduced in Karnataka.

Alupas continue to mint kathari ankusa gadyana and kati gadyana adding Nagari/Kannada *de* either on the obverse or on the reverse.

1422: Ramachandra issues varahas and half varahas of Lakshmi-Narayana type from Karnataka. A bull type copper coin with Nagari legend *ramachamdra* is also struck from Karnataka. The existing kati gadyanas of Alupas continue to be in circulation.

1422-1424: The existing coins in Karnataka continue to be in circulation. Vijayaraya (Vijaya Bukaraya) introduces the bull type copper coin with Nagari legend *vijaya bukaraya* in Tamilnadu.

1424-1446: Devaraya II continues the coinage of Devaraya I. He introduces elephant type with legend *devaraya* in silver taras. Elephant type coins with legend *pratapadevaraya, gajabetekara, gajavetekara sridevaraya, rayagajagandabherunda* are introduced in Tamilnadu. An elephant type coin with legend *paraudhadevaraya* and weighing 5.5 gm (jital standard equivalent to $^1/_3$ tara) is introduced in Karnataka. This coin is observed by Abdur-razak who visits Vijayanagar and who states in his account that jital is equivalent to 1/3 tara and that 6 taras make a pana and 10 pana are equivalent to a partab (half

varaha). Post Abdur-razak's visit, Devaraya II introduces the quarter varahas carrying the elephant device.

Lakhanna Dhanayak is allowed to issue coins in his name from Madurai.

1446-1465: Vijayaraya II doesn't issue coins in his name. Mallikarjuna issues silver taras from Karnataka. These contain on the obverse a bull and on the reverse the Nagari legend *malikajunaraya*. His copper coins from Tamilnadu have elephant on the obverse and the Kannada legend *malikajunarayaru* or *yamadidevaraya* on the reverse. The gold coins of earlier rulers are in circulation. The economy starts becoming weaker with the loss of territories.

1465-1486: Virupaksha II and Praudaraya do not issue coins in their names. The coins of earlier rulers are in circulation.

Konerirayan issues coins in his name. The Nagire rulers issue coins in their name.

1486-1505: Saluva rulers do not issue coins in their name. The coins of earlier rulers are in circulation.

1505-1509: Viranarasimha issues a copper coin with Narasimha on the obverse and the Nagari legend *narasimha* on the reverse. Coins of earlier rulers are in circulation. Varthema visits Vijayanagar. According to him 16 cas make a tara and 16 taras make a pana and 20 pana make a pardao. Thus the gold coins of Devaraya I and Devaraya II and silver coins of the Devarayas and Mallikarjuna are still in circulation. The quarter varahas of Devaraya II may have been withdrawn from circulation as no mention is made of them.

1509-1530: Krishnadevaraya introduces Balakrishna in his varahas and half varahas. He also introduces Garuda device in copper coins from Karnataka. These are issued in various denominations including the tara denomination. One more coin type with Garuda in *sukhasana* posture is struck in $^{2}/_{3}$ tara denomination. The silver coinage is stopped due to lack of availability of the metal. The weight standard of the copper coinage is consistent with those of the Bahmanis. Bull type copper coins with Kannada legend earlier introduced by Devaraya in Tamilnadu are again introduced with the reverse legend modified as *sri krishnaraya*. Bull type and elephant type copper coins with legend *sri pratapa krishnaraya* are struck in Karnataka. Double varahas with Venkatesa on the obverse are struck from Tirupati.

Circulation of kati gadyana struck by the Alupa rulers continues in S.Kanara region. The issue of twin-hill coins is started from Tiruvannamalai by local chiefs.

1530-1542: Achyutaraya introduces Gandabherunda in his varaha, half varaha and copper coins. The Gandabherunda coins are struck in all denominations including the tara denomination and kasu denomination. Elephant type is introduced in copper. A copper type with lion on top of an elephant is introduced in tara denomination. Coins are not issued in his name in Tamilnadu.

Visvanatha Nayak of Madurai issues coins with legend *pandiyan visvanathan*. Sadasiva of Keladi issues varahas and pana in his name, which is continued by all his successors. Chiradurga Nayaks start the issue of Durgi varahas and Virarayi pana.

1542-1560: Coins are issued in the name of Sadasivaraya. Lakshmi-Narayana type with legend *sri pratapa sadasivaraya* and *sri sadasivarayaru* are struck. Similarly, Siva-Parvati type with legend *sri pratapa sivaraya* is issued in gold. Copper coins with Garuda standing straight and in *virasana* posture are issued in various denominations including the tara denomination. Some newer type-elephant, Sivalinga and nandi etc. are issued. Coins with Garuda in *padmasana* and holding a flag like object are issued in kasu denomination.

Visvanatha Nayak continues to issue coins in his name. Sevappa Nayak of Thanjavur issues coins in his name.

1560-1562: Issue of coins in the name of Sadasivaraya is stopped. Venkatadri issues coins in his name. His copper coins carry the devices Garuda, Gandabherunda, Bull and Hanuman. Most of these are issued in tara and half tara denominations. He commences the issue of Venkatapati pagoda from Tadapatri. These are struck by all rulers after him.

1562-1564: The weight standard of tara is brought down from 16.5 gm to 14 gm. Venkatadri and Tirumala jointly issue coins. These have on the obverse Garuda seated in *sukhasana* posture.

Achyutappa Nayaka of Thanjavur issues coins in his name.

1564-1565: Venkatadri issues copper coins in his name. These have on the obverse Garuda in various postures *virasana, padmasana* and *sukhasana* and on the reverse the Kannada legend *ramaraja vemkatadri*. One more type with a twin-headed deity (Garuda and Hanuman) is also issued.

1565: The Deccan Sultanates plunder Vijayanagar. The Garuda in *virasana* posture type issued by Venkatadri is countermarked by the Sultanates. It is likely that other types that are in circulation are also countermarked.

1565-1572: The feudatories are growing in power. Some anonymous coins are issued from north Karnataka. Tirumalaraya issues varaha and half varaha with Rama, Sita and Lakshmana.

Caesar Fredrick visits Vijayanagar and observes that "when we came into a new Governor's country, as every day we did, although they were all tributaries to the king of Besenagar, yet everyone of them stamped a several coin of copper, so that the money that we took this day would not serve the next."

1572-1586: Srirangaraya I issues copper tara coins with seated Garuda and Gandabherunda.

Coins are issued by Krishnappa Nayak of Madurai, Sevappa Nayak of Thanjavur and Kondamma Nayak of Gingee. Coins with corrupt legend are beginning to be struck by the Mysore and other Karnataka chiefs.

1586-1614: Venkata II seems to have control over the feudatories. He issues coins in tara and fractional tara denominations with Gandabherunda, Garuda in *virasana* posture, Garuda standing facing, Garuda in *sukhasana* posture, Lakshmi-Narayana and Nandi devices. The weight standard of tara is brought down from 14 gm to 12 gm towards the end of his rule.

Coins are being issued by Muthu Krishnappa Nayak of Madurai, Achyutappa Nayak of Thanjavur and Krishnappa Nayak II of Gingee. Coins with corrupt legend are continued to be struck by the Mysore and other Karnataka chiefs.

1614-1650: The Vijayanagar rulers are slowly losing control over their feudatories. Venkata III issues the three-swamy pagodas. The issue of Venkatapati pagoda continues but the reverse legend is now corrupt. A virarayi type pana is issued in the name of Srirangaraya III.

Raghunatha Nayak of Thanjavur issues several coin types in his name. Vijayaraghava Nayak also issues coins in his name. Muthu Venkatappa Nayak of Gingee issues several types with legend *vemkatapa* and *vemkatapa nayudu*. The Channapatna palegars and Harathi chiefs issue coins in their name. Coins with chequered reverse are issued from Mysore.

1650 and later: The Vijayanagar rulers have lost power. The nayaks of Gingee and Thanjavur cease to exist. The territory of Madurai nayaks is shrunk. The coinage of Adil Shahis is noticed in Gingee and later those of Marathas are noticed in Gingee and Thanjavur.

16

INFLUENCE OF VIJAYANAGAR COINS ON OTHER DYNASTIES

Vijayanagar empire ushered in a new coinage series in south India, completely replacing the monotonous coinage of their predecessors. The dynasties which ruled before Vijayanagar preferred their dynastic emblem on their coins. However, this pattern was broken by Vijayanagar rulers. It will not be an exaggeration to say that they completely changed the coinage pattern in south India with their innovative and interesting coinage. During their period, we see abundance in coinage both gold and copper. The Vijayanagar rulers started their coinage with the prototype of *danava murari banta* series, but quickly provided innovation and brought several new types in gold and copper.

It can be seen that the devices used by the Vijayanagar rulers were adopted by the contemporary rulers and the rulers who succeeded them. Some of the examples were already seen in the earlier chapters. In this chapter, we study the influence of the Vijayanagar coinage on the contemporary rulers and the dynasties that succeeded them. The examples provided in this chapter are only indicative and by no means exhaustive.

Siva-Parvati

As stated in an earlier chapter, the earliest to portray Siva and Parvati on coins were the Vijayanagar rulers. Siva and Parvati first appear on the half varahas of Harihara II. Devaraya I, Devaraya II and Sadasivaraya also issued coins with Siva and Parvati on the obverse and their name in Nagari legend on the reverse.

The Siva and Parvati series were adopted amongst others by the Ikkeri nayaks, Madurai nayaks, Hyder Ali, Thanjavur nayaks, Thanjavur Marathas

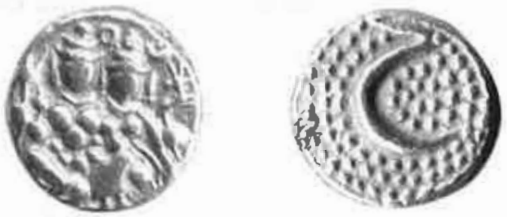
and Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. Some of the coins were already described in earlier chapters. Some more examples are given.

544. Gold, 3.4 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Siva and Parvati seated; Siva holds trident and damaru.

Rev. Letter *he*.

This pagoda was issued by Hyder Ali.



545. Copper, 2.5 gm, 14 mm.

Obv. Siva and Parvati seated.

Rev. Nagari legend *ma ha / ra ja*.

The above coin was issued by the Thanjavur Marathas.

546. Gold, 3.4 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Siva and Parvati seated; Siva holds trident and damaru.

Rev. Nagari legend *sri / kri shna ra / ja*.

The above series were issued by Krishnaraja Wodeyar II and Krishnaraja Wodeyar III of Mysore. Similar coin in half-varaha denomination also exists.

Lakshmi-Narayana

The earliest to portray Lakshmi and Narayana on coins were again the Vijayanagar rulers. Harihara II was the first to issue coins with Lakshmi and Narayana. His half varaha has the depiction of Narayana seated with consort Lakshmi on his left thigh. Devaraya, Sadasivaraya and Venkatapatiraya II issued coins of Lakshmi and Narayana type. The device was used amongst others by the Madurai nayaks, Gingee nayaks and Thanjavur nayaks.

547. Copper, 3.1 gm, 13 mm.

Obv. Lakshmi and Narayana.

Rev. Leaf pattern.

The above coin was issued by the Adil Shahis from Gingee.

Venkatesa

Venkatesa of Tirupati was a popular deity of the Tuluva and Aravidu rulers. A portrait sculpture of Krishnadevaraya is still seen in the Tirupati temple. Venkatesa is first seen on the coins of Krishnadevaraya. His double varaha has the depiction of Lord Venkatesa standing to front. Tuluva ruler Ramaraya issued copper coins with Lord Venkatesa shown standing facing front. Venkatapatiraya III's varaha has Lord Venkatesa with Sridevi and Bhudevi on either side. Venkatapati pagodas and half pagodas have the depiction of Venkatesa.

Venkatesa type was adopted by the Dutch, Danish, French, East India Company and Arcot Nawabs.

548. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Venkatesa standing. Rev. Granulated. The above coin was issued by the Dutch. "Porto Novo" pagodas of this type were struck at Pulicat, Negapatam and Madras.	
549. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Venkatesa standing. Rev. Granulated with crowned C7 in oval field. This is the only gold coin minted by the Danes in Tranquebar. 18,375 pagodas were minted between 13th March and 28th April 1789.	
550. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Venkatesa standing; on either side semblance of a figure represented in dots. Rev. Crescent within a granulated space. The above coin was issued by the French.	

551. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Venkatesa standing. Rev. Star within granulated space. The above coin popularly known as Star Pagoda was issued by the East India Company from Madras presidency.	
552. Gold, 5.94 gm, 20.5 mm. Obv. Venkatesa standing facing front; around legend in Tamil and Telugu 2 *varagan* and 2 *varahani*. Rev. Gopuram with 9 stars on either side; around English and Arabic TWO PAGODA and 2 *varahan*. This is issued by the East India Company from Madras Presidency. Similar coins in quarter pagoda, half pagoda in silver and pagoda in gold were also issued.	
553. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Venkatesa with Sridevi and Bhudevi. Rev. Granulated. The above coin was issued by the East India Company from Madras presidency.	
554. Gold, 3.4 gm, 12 mm. Obv. Venkatesa with Sridevi and Bhudevi. Rev. Arabic *ain* within granulated space. The above coin was issued by the Nawabs of Arcot.	

Gandabherunda

Gandabherunda, the double-headed eagle is a very ancient and well known symbol of royalty throughout the world. Although Gandabherunda as a device was first used by the Hoysalas, the depiction of Gandabherunda on their coins was of the anthropoid type. Gandabherunda in the form used by Vijayanagar dynasty rulers were later adopted by others. The device was first used by Achyutaraya in his gold and copper coins. Two types of depiction were adopted by him. In one type, back view of Gandabherunda is shown with the wings and feathers ornamented and the head having a crest. The huge bird is shown flying upward carrying in each of its two beak and two claws a full grown tusker elephant. In another type, Gandabherunda is shown in the profile form. The bird is shown carrying in each of its two beaks and two claws a full grown tusker elephant. Venkatadri, Srirangaraya I, Venkatapatiraya II also issued copper coins with the depiction of Gandabherunda.

Gandabherunda as a device was adopted amongst others by Thanjavur nayaks, Gingee nayaks and Channapatna palegars.

555. Copper, 15.8 gm, 22 mm. Obv. Gandabherunda. Rev. Persian legend not decipherable.	

The Persian legend on the reverse is not decipherable. The legend has been restored as *Abi Muzaffar Mohammad* (*Quali*) by Michael Mitchiner[1]. He attributes the coin to Mohammad Qutub Shah. The reading and the attribution is doubtful.

Summary

The examples shown indicate the influence of Vijayanagar coinage on the dynasties that succeeded them. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the coinage of the contemporary as well as the rulers who succeeded them followed the trend set by the Vijayanagar rulers. For example the various Gods and Goddesses that appear on the coins of Madurai nayaks were influenced by the depiction of the Gods and Goddesses on the Vijayanagar coinage. The devices such as Garuda, Hanuman, standing bull, elephant were adopted by various rulers.

References

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17

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN INSCRIPTIONS AND COINAGE

A study was attempted to find out whether there is any relation between the number of inscriptions issued by a ruler in a region and the coins issued by the same ruler in that region. The following hypothesis was formulated for the study.

There is a positive correlation between the number of inscriptions issued by the ruler and the coins issued by the same ruler in that region. The reason is simple, the higher number of inscriptions in the name of the ruler indicates the hold he has over the region and hence other things being the same, the relative number of coins issued by the ruler is likely to be higher. A corollary to this would be that the lower inscriptions/year of rule indicates that the ruler did not have hold in the region.

For the purpose of the study, 2011 inscriptions from Karnataka related to the Vijayanagar rulers were chosen.[1] The results of the analysis are tabulated in Table 17.1. Fig. 17.1 shows the plot of the Inscriptions/Year for various rulers.

In the Table, the Inscriptions/Year is derived by dividing the no. of inscriptions issued by the ruler with the number of year of his rule. Obviously comparing total number of inscriptions doesn't make sense as the total number of inscriptions amongst other things depends on the number of year of rule. The last column in the Table denotes the coins issued by the ruler. A five point scale was used

0 - No known coins of the ruler

1 - Very less number of coins issued

2 - Less number of coins issued

3 - Reasonable number of coins issued

4 - Relatively higher number of coins issued

The author has been collecting Vijayanagar coins for the past 15 years and his experience has been used to create the last column of the Table. In creating this column, the coinage in the region under discussion (Karnataka) was considered. For example, Tirumala's coins are scarce from Karnataka region limited to his varahas and half varahas.

There are some limitations on the usage of the number of years of rule in the Table. An inscription would have been issued for example when the ruler was an *yuvaraja* but the years of rule takes into account only the actual year of reign as king. However it was felt that this limitation would not affect the finding.

Results

1. The Table clearly suggests that powerful rulers issued inscriptions and coins. Thus rulers like Harihara II and Krishnadevaraya, who were powerful, issued inscriptions and coins in large numbers.

2. Interestingly the inscription/year of rule of Achyutaraya is the highest, even higher than Krishnadevaraya. Krishnadevaraya was busy in the initial years in expanding his kingdom while Achyutaraya had the luxury of having a huge kingdom being handed over to him on a platter.

3. Although Achyutaraya issued large number of inscriptions, he didn't issue as many coins from the region as his predecessor. As suggested in an earlier chapter, Krishnadevaraya's coins should have been in circulation during his period. There will be abundance in coinage when a powerful ruler has ruled for longer period of time thus not necessitating the issue of new coins.

4. Virupaksha II's coins are not known at this point in time. His inscriptions are also few. It is likely that either his reign is not for 21 years as claimed or he had lost control over most part of the region.

5. In this study, no attempt has been made to separate the inscriptions issued by Sadasivaraya, Ramaraya and Venkatadri. Their combined inscriptions are on par with other powerful rulers such as Harihara II, Krishnadevaraya. However their combined coinage is not as much as the coinage of either Harihara II or Krishnadevaraya. They were busy fighting with the Deccan Sultanates. Thus other factors also play vital role in coinage.

6. Bukka III (Vijayaraya) issued large number of inscriptions in short time. However his coinage is scarce and no coins are known from Karnataka region.

King	No. of Inscriptions	Years of Rule	Inscriptions / year	Coins Issue
Harihara I	35	20	1.75	1
Bukka I	124	21	5.9	2
Harihara II	245	17	14.4	4
Bukka II	34	2	17	0
Devaraya I	113	16	7	4
Ramachandra	2	1	2	1
Bukka III (Vijayabhupati raya)	30	2	15	0
Devaraya II	185	22	8.4	4
Mallikarjuna	84	18	4.7	2
Virupaksha II	59	21	2.8	0
Narasimha I	10	7	1.4	0
Narasimha II	43	12	3.6	0
Viranarasimha	15	6	2.5	1
Krishnadevaraya	260	21	12.4	4
Achyutaraya	222	12	18.5	3
Sadasivaraya + Ramaraya + Venkatadri	359	26	13.8	3
Tirumala	12	3	4	1
Srirangaraya I	41	14	2.9	1
Venkatapati II	65	28	2.3	2
Srirangaraya II	23	3	7.7	1
Venkata III	11	13	0.8	1
Srirangaraya III	58	20	2.9	1

Table 17.1 Analysis of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers

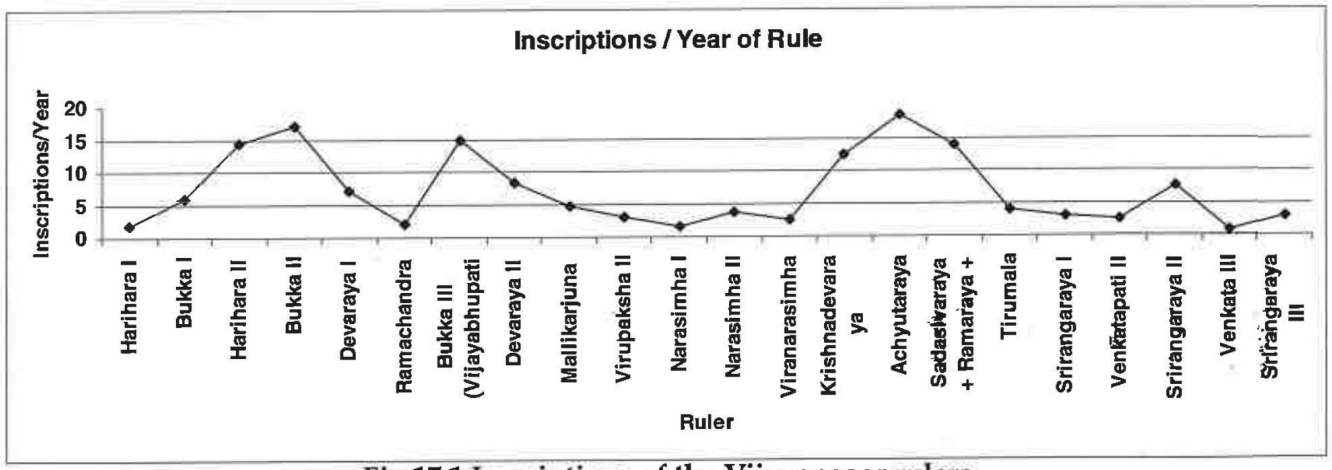

Fig 17.1 Inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers

Thus we can conclude few things.

a. Generally large number of inscriptions are issued during the initial year of reign. However it is possible that the issue of coinage takes longer time. The coinage of the predecessor was usually in circulation during this period.

b. If Bukka III had continued reign for more time, he would have issued more coins.

c. The attribution of the copper coin with the legend *vijayabukaraya* to him therefore is correct (although it is from Tamilnadu region).

Based on the preceding paragraphs, we can modify the hypothesis by adding certain caveats.

There is a positive correlation between the number of inscriptions issued by the ruler and the coins issued by the same ruler in that region. We expect to see more number of coins issued in the name of a ruler if the number of inscriptions/year is higher. This relation is likely to be accurate if the number of year of reign of the ruler is higher. This correlation may be weak if the reign of a powerful ruler is preceded by a rule of another powerful ruler. The correlation is likely to be weak if there are other factors such as wars that affect the economy.

Inscriptions/Year of rule is a good metric for predicting the coinage of a ruler. This metric can be used, when there is confusion in attribution of a coin to a ruler due to multiple rulers having the same name or title.

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[ABBREVIATIONS: ARE = Annual Report on Epigraphy; **ARIE** = Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy; **ARSIE** = Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy; ***EC*** = Epigraphia Carnatica; ***EI*** = Epigraphia Indica; ***IA*** = Indian Antiquary; ***IIRNS*** = Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik; ***JAHRS*** = Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamundry; ***JNSI*** = Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Varnasi; ***JOR*** = Journal of Oriental Research, Madras; **MAR** = Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, Government of Karnataka; **MCSSB** = Madras Coin Society Special Bulletin; ***ND*** = Numismatic Digest, Nasik; ***NS*** = Numismatic Supplement; **QJMC** = Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society; ***SSIC*** = Studies in South Indian Coins, Chennai; ***VSCV*** = Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, Dharwar, 1936.]

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Appendix A

LEGEND AND COIN TERMS WITH DIACRITICAL MARKS

Legend used in the text	Legend with diacritical marks
sri vira hari hara	śrī vīra hari hara
hari hara	hari hara
sri vira buka raya	śrī vīra buka rāya
sri vira bhupati raya	śrī vīra bhupati rāya
sri pratapa hari hara	śrī pratāpa hari hara
sri vira pratapa hari hara	śrī vīra pratāpa hari hara
pratapa hari hara	pratāpa hari hara
sri pratapa deva raya	śrī pratāpa dēva rāya
deva raya	dēva rāya
sri deva raya	śrī dēva rāya
sri nilakamtha	śrī nīlakamtha
sri pratapa ramachamdra	śrī pratāpa rāmachamdra
ramachamdra	rāmachamdra
vijaya buka raya	vijaya buka rāya
gajavetekara sri deva raya	gajaveṭekāra śrī dēva rāya
gajabetekara	gajabeṭekāra
raya gajaganda bherunda	rāya gajaganḍa bheruṇḍa
paraudha deva raya	parauḍha dēva rāya
malikajunaraya	malikājunarāya
malikajunarayaru	malikājunarāyaru
yamadi deva raya	yamaḍi dēva rāya

Legend used in the text	Legend with diacritical marks
narasimha	narasimha
sri krashnaraya	śrī krashṇarāya
sri pratapa krashna raya	śrī pratāpa krashṇa rāya
sri krishna raya	śrī krishṇa rāya
sri pratapachyuta raya	śrī pratāpāchyuta rāya
sri pratapa sadasiva raya	śrī pratāpa sadāśiva rāya
sri sadasiva rayaru	śrī sadāśiva rāyaru
sri pratapa siva raya	śrī pratāpa śiva rāya
sri rama raya	śrī rāma rāya
rama raja	rāma rāja
sri tirumala rayalu	śrī tirumala rāyalu
sri tirumala raya	śrī tirumala rāya
sri tirumala raja	śrī tirumala rāja
ralava tirumala raja	rālava tirumala rāja
sri ramaraja vemkatadri raya	śrī rāmarāja vemkaṭādri rāya
sri ramraja tirumalaraja vemkatadri	śrī rāmrāja tirumalarāja vemkaṭādri
sri vemkatadri raya	śrī vemkaṭādri rāya
sri ramga raya	śrī ramga rāya
sri vemkata raya	śrī vemkaṭa rāya
sri vemkatesvaraya namah	śrī vemkaṭēsvarāya namah
sri ramga	śrī ramga
sri pandya dhanamjaya	śrī pāṇḍya dhanamjaya
lakhana danayakaru	lakhaṇa daṇāyakaru
konerirayan	konerirāyan
saluvamala	sāḷuvamala

Legend used in the text	Legend with diacritical marks
rajadiraja	rājādirāja
jagadeva raya	jagadeva rāya
yamadi jagadeva	yamaḍi jagadeva
amkusa rayava deyalu	amkusa rāyava deyalu
sri saraja	śrī saraja
arunadri	aruṇādri
pandiyan visvanatan	pāṇḍiyan visvanātan
krishnappa	krishṇappa
kittinappa nayakkar	kiṭṭiṇappa nāyakkar
tiruvemgata mudukrishna	tiruvemgaṭa mudukrishṇa
varaha	varāha
sivapa raya	sivāpa rāya
chevapa nayaka	chevapa nāyaka
achata	achata
achuta	achuta
vichaya ragunatha	vichaya ragunātha
ragunatha	ragunātha
ragunada	ragunāda
ragunadha	raguṇādha
raghunadha	raghunādha
ragava	rāgava
vijaya ragava	vijaya rāgava
kondappa	koṇdappa
vemkatapa	vemkaṭapa
vemkatapa nayudu	vemkaṭapa nāyuḍu

Coin terms used in the text	Terms with diacritical marks
gadyana	gadyāṇa
kati	kāṭi
ghatti varaha	ghaṭṭi varāha
dodda varaha	dodḍa varāha
kumdige varaha	kumdige varāha
achyutaraya mada varaha	achyutarāya māḍa varāha
pratapa	pratāpa
chika gadyana	chika gadyāṇa
kathari amkusa gadyana	kaṭhāri amkuśa gadyāṇa
pagoda	pagoda
ruka	rukā
rekhai varahan	rēkhai varāhan
chakram	chakram
sanna pratapa	saṇṇa pratāpa
pana	paṇa
hana	haṇa
kulada hana	kulada haṇa
panam	paṇam
narpanam	nārpaṇam
pratapa hana	pratāpa haṇa
bele	beḷe
visa	vīsa
tara	tāra
belliya honnu	beḷḷiya honnu
padi	pāḍi
prasada padi	prasāda pāḍi

STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGAR COINS